

Universidade de Lisboa
Instituto de Ciências Sociais



**The internal power distribution within Portuguese parties: Examining the
centre-periphery relations in the PS and the PSD**

Isabella Razzuoli

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Tese especialmente elaborada para a obtenção do grau de doutora em Ciência Política na
especialidade de Política Comparada.

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Resumo

Esta tese analisa as organizações partidárias e a distribuição do poder no interior dos partidos portugueses, colocando a ênfase nas estruturas partidárias existentes a nível territorial e nas suas relações com a liderança e com o partido a nível nacional. No caso português, este tema tem sido pouco estudado, o que se explica pela tendência da literatura para privilegiar a análise centrada nos partidos a nível nacional. Esta tese defende a importância da análise dos níveis inferiores da organização partidária para a compreensão do funcionamento interno dos partidos políticos assim como dos processos de transformação que têm sofrido.

A literatura tem vindo a demonstrar a tendência para o enfraquecimento dos partidos políticos enquanto actores colectivos e enquanto organizações de militantes como reflexo de um processo mais amplo de erosão da dimensão colectiva da política nas sociedades contemporâneas. Por sua vez, esta tendência põe em causa a função de intermediação entre os cidadãos e o Estado que esteve na base da legitimação da posição central que os partidos políticos têm vindo a ocupar nas democracias representativas.

Do ponto de vista da organização interna, a literatura tem demonstrado algumas tendências importantes. Em primeiro lugar, a emergência de processos de transformação que apontam para o crescente poder e autonomia dos líderes vis-à-vis os órgãos colegiais e intermédios. Em segundo lugar, a democratização das decisões internas através da atribuição de direitos de voto aos militantes. Em terceiro lugar, a adoção de uma configuração organizativa de tipo ‘estratárquico’, em que as diferentes componentes são cada vez mais autónomas e os laços internos mais flexíveis.

Esta tese analisa o caso português, interpretando-o à luz das tendências acima descritas e do seu impacto na distribuição interna do poder. Para tal, a tese foca as estruturas do partido para analisar em que medida é que aquelas tendências emergem a nível territorial e quais os factores que explicam a distribuição do poder entre os diferentes níveis. Para esse efeito, foram seleccionados os dois principais partidos de governo em Portugal – o Partido Socialista (PS), de centro-esquerda e o Partido Social Democrata (PSD), de centro-direita. De acordo com a literatura, PS e PSD são partidos eleitoralistas com características do modelo cartel, já que, por um lado dependem em larga medida do financiamento público e dos recursos proporcionados pelo acesso ao poder e, por outro lado, a liderança ocupa um

papel proeminente na organização. A tese parte de um enquadramento comparativo que recorre a dados recolhidos no âmbito do projecto ‘Political Party Database’ – no qual colaborámos – onde se apresentam importantes características destes partidos, nomeadamente ao nível dos recursos, estruturas e processos decisórios.

Depois deste enquadramento, a tese investiga as estruturas territoriais a partir de diferentes perspectivas. Em primeiro lugar, a partir de uma perspectiva longitudinal que acompanha a evolução das relações das estruturas territoriais com o nível nacional desde 1974. O objectivo é averiguar em que medida é que houve um processo de autonomização das primeiras em relação ao segundo, testando, para ambos os partidos, a expectativa da evolução no sentido de uma configuração ‘estratárquica’ das relações. A análise longitudinal permite examinar de que forma é que a autonomia e a hierarquia emergem em diferentes fases, tendo em conta a importância crucial que a incumbência e a ocupação do poder têm para a liderança nacional nos partidos eleitoralistas. Concretamente, analisa-se de que forma é que é a incumbência e a ocupação do poder afectam o funcionamento interno, as relações intra-partidárias e a base do poder do líder dentro da organização. Nesta análise, são tidas em conta as diferentes características dos dois partidos em termos da sua origem genética e de descentralização-centralização e o potencial impacto que isso poderá ter sobre aquelas relações.

Em segundo lugar, análise-se as estruturas territoriais, com o objectivo de verificar em que medida é que os processos de personalização e de democratização observados a nível nacional ocorrem ao nível das estruturas territoriais. Para tal, optou-se por analisar os processos de seleção das lideranças ao nível intermédio da organização, ou seja, ao nível dos presidentes das dezanove federações do Partido Socialista e das dezanove distritas do Partido Social Democrata em Portugal continental. Os presidentes das estruturas intermédias controlam a organização burocrática no terreno e gerem a acção do partido a nível local, assegurando a ligação com o nível nacional e representando as instâncias das estruturas perante a liderança. Para além disso, desempenham um papel central em funções institucionais, nomeadamente no processo de elaboração das listas dos candidatos à Assembleia da República e na coordenação dos processos eleitorais para eleições autárquicas. Por fim, na maior parte dos casos, os presidentes das estruturas intermédias ocupam cargos públicos – são frequentemente deputados nacionais ou presidentes de Câmaras – o que lhes proporciona um importante capital político dentro da organização. Ainda que estes dirigentes partidários desenvolvam um papel central no aparelho do partido não tem havido investigação académica sobre estes actores. Nesse sentido, esta tese oferece

um contributo original à literatura sobre os partidos portugueses. Argumentamos que estes actores têm vindo a assumir importância dentro das próprias estruturas territoriais e que essa posição é uma função das relações com a liderança nacional, apontando a importância de laços personalísticos nestes partidos. O poder de eleger estes líderes foi transferido de assembleias locais para os militantes, tal como ocorreu com a eleição dos líderes nacionais. Na tese, são examinadas 266 eleições directas que tiveram lugar nas federações e nas distritais entre 2003 e 2017. A análise é feita a partir de uma base de dados original sobre as eleições intra-partidárias, considerando a competitividade, a renovação e as características dos eleitos em termos de acumulação do cargo partidário com cargos públicos. Esta análise serve para averiguar da emergência, a nível territorial, de um modelo de organização centrado nas lideranças, o grau de circulação das elites, e em que medida as dinâmicas no terreno são relacionadas com as diferentes fases a nível nacional (e.g. incumbência-oposição, estabilidade da liderança).

O último capítulo empírico da tese trata dos mais recentes processos de democratização interna nos dois partidos, analisando o papel das estruturas no terreno e a perspectiva dos líderes territoriais sobre estas reformas. No caso do PS, em particular, analisa-se o caso das ‘directas’ para a escolha dos candidatos às presidências de Câmara em 2013 e as primárias abertas para o candidato a primeiro-ministro em 2014.

O principal contributo desta tese é o de mostrar importantes aspectos do funcionamento dos partidos políticos portugueses a nível territorial, preenchendo uma lacuna identificada na literatura. Em primeiro lugar, confirma-se a relevância da posição institucional em modelar as relações internas. Em segundo lugar, demonstra-se a importância dos laços personalísticos. Os dois partidos mostram diferenças com respeito à evolução para um modelo ‘estratárquico’, apontando para a necessidade de uma reformulação teórica desse modelo mais em termos de ‘checks and balances’ do que mútua separação. Os resultados mostram que há uma personalização a nível local e, do ponto de vista das características do aparelho, asinalam uma ausência generalizada de competitividade e renovação, que nalguns casos parece indicar a presença de oligarquias a nível territorial. De um modo geral, estas características podem contribuir para o enfraquecimento das organizações partidárias e da sua capacidade de estabelecer ligações com os cidadãos.

Palavras-chave: Portugal, partidos políticos, distribuição interna do poder, estratarquia, personalização, democracia intra-partidária.

Abstract

This thesis analyses party organisation and internal power distribution in Portuguese parties, focusing on the territorial structures and their relations with the party at the national level. Notwithstanding the direct implications that contemporary party transformation processes have on territorial party strata and intermediate bodies, this is an under-researched topic in party literature. Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to cover this lacuna and to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Portuguese parties' functioning and internal dynamics. The thesis explores the case of the two main governing parties, the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista* – PS) and the Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrata* – PSD). The research first investigates the 'stratarchical argument' which posits the replacement of hierarchical configuration, and the increasing reciprocal autonomy between levels, in contemporary parties. This argument is explored through a dynamic perspective examining the two parties in different phases, from 1974 onwards. This perspective enables the examination of the salience of incumbency-opposition status in influencing the relations between levels and the role of path dependency factors, such as the genetic origin. Checks and balances rather than mutual separation seem to better describe the relations. Then, the emergence of personalisation and democratisation processes at the territorial level is analysed. To this aim, an in-depth examination of intra-party contests, held between 2003 and 2017, for selecting the federation presidents (PS) and the district presidents (PSD) is carried out, resorting to an original database of direct elections. The main findings indicate a pattern of low competitiveness and low elite renewal at this level of the organisation. Afterwards, the most recent intra-party democracy reforms (and reform attempts) are analysed, placing emphasis on their effects on the territorial structures, and the territorial elites' perspective on such reforms is presented. The thesis confirms the salience of the institutional position in shaping internal relations in electoralist parties and supports the argument of the emergence of personalisation processes at the territorial level and the relevance of personalistic linkages in these parties.

Keywords: Portugal, parties, internal power distribution, stratarchy, personalisation, intra-party democracy

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Partir pedra is a Portuguese saying that literally means ‘to break stones’. I used to hear it a lot when talking with my fellow colleagues about the PhD, and especially about the writing process. During the most intense period of thesis writing that expression occurred to me many times. *Partir pedra* is my personal metaphor for the PhD process, which has been a solitary and collective endeavour at the same time. All this process, concluded with the achievement of this personal ‘milestone’, would have not been possible without the contribution of several people, to whom it is time to express my warmest thanks.

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List of acronyms

AD	<i>Aliança Democrática</i>
ANAFRE	<i>Associação Nacional de Freguesias</i>
ASD	<i>Autarcas Social-Democratas</i>
ASP	<i>Acção Socialista Portuguesa</i>
BE	<i>Bloco de Esquerda</i>
CDS	<i>Centro Democrático-Social</i>
CS	Candidate Selection
ILS	Index of Leadership Strength
IPD	Intra-Party Democracy
JS	<i>Juventude Socialista</i>
JSD	<i>Juventude Social Democrata</i>
PD	<i>Partito Democratico</i>
PEV	<i>Partido Ecologista Os Verdes</i>
PP	<i>Partido Popular</i>
PPM	<i>Partido Popular Monárquico</i>
PPDB	Political Party Database
PRD	<i>Partido Renovador Democrático</i>
PS	<i>Partido Socialista</i>
PSD	<i>Partido Social Democrata</i>
PSOE	<i>Partido Socialista Obrero Español</i>
SNO	<i>Secretariado Nacional da Organização</i>
TSD	<i>Trabalhadores Social-Democratas</i>

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Introduction

In recent decades, important processes of transformation have affected political parties across representative democracies. Several studies have documented that parties are gradually losing their reservoir of activists and members, (e.g. Mair and van Biezen, 2001; Whiteley, 2011; Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012; Kölln, 2015; van Haute and Gauja, 2015), that party identification is decreasing, and that public confidence towards political institutions is eroding, with citizens increasingly perceiving parties as self-referential and self-serving organisations (Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000; Pharr and Putnam, 2000; Dalton and Weldon, 2005; Mair, 2013). Parties appear to be deeply detached from society, while their strength and resilience as organisations seem to be increasingly supported by state resources and the occupation of power (Katz and Mair, 1995; Ignazi, 2014).

While parties as mass-membership organisations are in decline, individual actors, such as party leaders, are becoming more powerful and internally autonomous (Poguntke and Webb, 2005). Accordingly, internal power has shifted to the leaders' benefit, to the detriment of parties' intermediary structures and collective bodies, such as delegate conventions, local party organisations, and parliamentary party groups (Poguntke and Webb, 2005: 9; Lobo, 2005a; McAllister, 2007; but see Loxbo 2013). Nowadays, politicians are increasingly able to reach out to electors and supporters without relying on traditional party cadres and constituency party structures (Poguntke, 2002). Party leaders seem to have «greater opportunities to fill the party apparatus with people they trust» (Musella, 2018: 2) and play a key role in influencing voting behaviour (Bittner, 2011; Lobo, 2008; Lobo and Curtice, 2014). However, leaders' centrality goes hand in hand with high vulnerability, since (governing) parties are increasingly dependent on the electoral performance and occupation of power (Poguntke and Webb, 2005).

Concomitantly, a tendency towards internal democratisation through the inclusion of individual members in party decisions and the openness of organisational boundaries to non-members is occurring (Scarrow, Webb and Farrell, 2000; Scarrow, 2015). On the one hand, democratisation reforms have been interpreted as a way to revitalise internal participation, and to respond to membership decline and diffusion of party distrust. Members are still considered by parties an important resource, especially in terms of public image and legitimacy (Scarrow, 1994; van Haute and Gauja, 2015). On the other hand, scholars have

posited that internal democratisation actually conceals a strategy of elite control and contributes to strengthen leadership's autonomy and legitimacy vis-à-vis party intermediate structures (Katz and Mair, 1995; 2002; Mair, 1997; Ignazi, 2014).

A further interesting development observed by party scholars regards the mass-party model's conception of party as a monolithic entity and hierarchical system. Contemporary parties' internal ties are loose, and the organisational configuration tends to be inspired on 'lighter' solutions, stratarchical or network-based, apparently better suited to conciliate central control and autonomy of the different components into a coherent organisation (Katz and Mair, 1995; Carty, 2004; Bolleyer, 2012).

Most of the recent trends concerning party organisation suggest that the territorial intermediate structures have lost influence in party decisions, and that the resources ensured by this component, such as members' voluntary activity and financial contribution, have lost relevance. It has been argued that «local party organization is most likely not as important to the national political party as was hitherto the case» (Webb, 1995: 312), that a «physical withering of the party on the ground» is ongoing (Katz and Mair 2002: 126), and even that «the existence of organisational articulation at the local level is no longer a necessary condition that would qualify an organization to be numbered in the political party category» (LaPalombara, 2007: 148). More recently, it has been observed that the activity of the territorial and functional strata may be seriously constrained by recent trends such as «large-scale members' inclusion», with the result of fostering party demobilisation and tighter control of the party from above (Ignazi, 2018: 8). For some scholars, this organisational decline of the 'periphery' is accompanied by the personalisation of the local leadership (Bardi, Bartolini and Trechsel, 2014).

However, as a matter of fact, not much is known about party's territorial structures. This is surprising given the internal multi-dimensionality of parties, their different layers, and their internal dynamics of cooperation and conflict. Much attention has been directed to membership size as indicator of organisational strength, and less is known about what parties do at the territorial level, how they organise, and how local structures support party goals (Scarrow, 2000: 95; Biezen, 2003).

In light of the aforementioned trends of party organisational transformation, this thesis contends that is more important than ever to explore parties' territorial structures and their role in increasing state-dependent and leader-centric, yet vulnerable, parties. This

perspective may tell a part of the story about leader's power base within the party. This matters especially for parties in new democracies, since it has been argued that party leadership holds a relevant degree of autonomy in managing the organisation and its structures. More in general, this perspective enables to explore party functioning in a more complex way, as well as to understand whether, and how, distinct party components adapt to the pressures and challenges parties are facing and reproduce the main tendencies of transformation.

Goals of the thesis

This thesis aims to cover the lacuna identified in party literature through an in-depth analysis of parties' territorial structures in a new democracy, Portugal. In particular, the study focuses on the two main governing parties, the centre-left Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista* – PS) and the centre-right Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrata* – PSD). In the Portuguese case, political parties are the dominant actors of the democratic system. They played a leading role in supporting the consolidation of the democratic regime and the stabilisation of the party system (e.g. Bruneau and MacLeod, 1986; Maxwell, 1989; Morlino, 1998; Lobo, 2001; Diamandouros and Gunther, 2002; Jalali, 2007). The Constitution of 1976 sanctioned parties' institutional domination through the monopoly of the political representation (de Sousa, 1984; Jalali, 2007; Leston-Bandeira and Tibúrcio, 2012). From 1987 onwards, the party system has displayed a majoritarian pattern around these two main parties, only attenuated since 2005, until the unprecedented left-left cooperation emerged with the 2015 elections (Lobo, 2001; Freire, 2005; Lisi, 2016). As other 'third-wave' parties, Portuguese parties (with the partial exception of the Communist Party - PCP), emerged from scratch and from the outset they have been highly dependent on state resources and the occupation of power for compensating their weak social roots and sustaining the organisation (Lopes 2004; Jalali 2007). These features, coupled with the historical context in which these parties emerged, have contributed to foster centralising tendencies and leadership prominence (Biezen, 2003; Lobo, 2003).

While party-state anchorage is rather strong, the opposite is true for party-society linkage. Portuguese parties appear to be weakly connected to society and their public image is not in good-shape. Beyond the high electoral abstentionism, citizens' confidence towards parties and political elites is very low and there is plenty of evidence of widespread political disaffection (Magalhães, 2001, 2005; Pinto, de Sousa, Magalhães, 2013; Freire *et al.* 2014;

Torcal, 2014; Teixeira, Tsatsanis and Belchior, 2016). Moreover, Portuguese parties have displayed a low propensity to renewal, with only minor and instrumentally-motivated changes carried out in the last four decades (Lisi, 2015a).

Given the centrality of parties for Portuguese democracy, we contend that a more comprehensive analysis, which considers how vertical relations are structured and how parties function at the lower organisational levels, is needed. This analysis matters for different reasons. Firstly, because in the Portuguese case this theme has not been explored in a systematic way. The knowledge about the territorial structures and their relation with the party at the national level is still limited. With few exceptions, literature has remained ‘nationally-oriented’, focusing on party leadership, national party bodies and parliamentary and governmental elites, whereas an in-depth examination of the lower levels and relations and dynamics with the party at the national level is lacking.¹

Hence, the general goal of the present investigation is to cover this gap and thus to contribute to the understanding of Portuguese parties, by placing emphasis on the territorial structures. Secondly, since the analysis is carried out in light of the main processes of transformation of contemporary parties, the goal is to contribute to the comprehension of the trajectories that these parties are undertaking. For instance, it aims to understand whether and to what extent internal configuration follows a stratarchical modality, as well as whether personalisation processes take place at the local level, by focusing on the territorial leadership. More in general, this study aims to shed light on the functioning of Portuguese parties at the local level. This seems to be increasingly important since in local power, where Portuguese parties face the challenge of non-partisan lists, the two main parties are showing signs of weakening of the local organisation (Jalali, 2014), which may indicate a deeper erosion between party internal organisation and the Portuguese society.

Thesis structure

This thesis adopts the following structure. The next chapter starts reviewing the state of the art on party organisation and internal power distribution, to then focusing the attention on the most recent trends of party organisational transformation. Chapter two maps the investigation presenting the research questions, the hypotheses, the data and method. The empirical analysis begins in Chapter three. The chapter aims at illustrating in

¹ For a critique of the ‘national-biased’ perspective in party research see Detterbeck (2012).

comparative perspective key features of Portuguese parties. To this aim, it resorts to the Political Party Database (PPDB) project, whose data for the Portuguese case we have contributed to collect in the last years. Chapter four examines from a diachronic perspective the centre-periphery relations in light of the hypothesis of the evolution towards a stratarchical arrangement. Chapter five directs greater attention to the territorial structures at intermediate level of party organisation, describing their organisation, resources and competences, by integrating formal rules with actual practices resorting to elite interviews. Chapter six and seven shift the focus to the territorial leaders, namely the PS federation presidents and the PSD district presidents, and analyse their selection by members drawing upon an original data set of internal elections we have built for this study. Chapter eight deals on the more recent intra-party democracy reforms, and attempts of reform, in both the PS and the PSD, placing the emphasis on the territorial structures. Finally, the conclusion recaps and discusses the findings and their implications.

Chapter I

Internal power distribution and party transformation: theory and findings

Introduction

In this chapter we review the main studies on party organisation, focusing on the internal power distribution and the processes of transformation that have regarded parties in recent decades. As it will be shown, the relevance of the dimension analysed in this chapter is not circumscribed to party's "internal life" but is tightly connected with the functions played by political parties in contemporary democracies, as well as with normative questions on the changing nature of party organisation (Gunther and Diamond, 2001; Katz, 2002; Biezen, 2004; Krouwel, 2006, 2012; Allern and Pedersen, 2007; Scarrow, 2017). Following the emergence of a wide debate about party crisis and decline, party organisation has regained a new momentum in recent decades. The decrease in party identification and electoral turnout, the rise of electoral volatility, the decline of membership figures, the widespread diffusion of distrust and anti-party attitudes in western democracies have questioned the enduring vitality of party, positing the argument of a process of crisis or even organisational decline (e.g. Aguiar, 1990; Selle and Svåsand, 1991; Daalder, 1992; 2002; Aldrich, 1995; Webb, 1995; Poguntke, 1996; Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000; Putman, Pharr and Dalton, 2000; Mair and van Biezen, 2001; Norris, 2002; Torcal, Gunther and Montero, 2002; Dalton and Weldon, 2005; Whiteley, 2011).

While on the one hand the aforementioned trends identified a process of citizens' distancing from politics, scholars pointed out that the argument of party decline was misleading, since it was built on normative conceptions of party and party functions, i.e. the mass party as the prevailing model of party organisation, and the representation of social demands as the primary party function (Ignazi, 1996; Mair, 1997; Scarrow, 2000; Schmitter, 2001; Katz, 2013; Biezen and Poguntke, 2014). As such, the decline of the elements sustaining this conception of party and its organisational strength (e.g. large membership size) was perceived as the decline of parties as institutions. In the wake of this wide debate, in the early 1990s new studies have set the basis for the theorisation and analysis of party

organisation and internal power distribution through innovative perspectives, fostering a more complex analysis of party change in terms of adaptation rather than decline (e.g. Katz and Mair, 1992; Mair, 1997; Gunther, Montero and Linz, 2002; Scarrow, Poguntke and Webb, 2017).

This chapter is structured as follows. It starts by reviewing ‘classic models’ of party organisation that have influenced the study of party organisation and how power is internally distributed. It then presents Katz and Mair’s framework of party’s internal diversification which set the basis for the exploration of parties as non-monolithic entities made up of different layers. After that, a section deals with the application to parties in new democracies of theories emerged with reference to parties in old established democracies. Finally, this chapter reviews the most recent processes of party transformation identified by literature and presents the main empirical findings.

1.1 Party organisation: from cadre to cartel

Party models are primarily ideal-types therefore they describe models that at the empirical level are short-live, however they also identify distinct traits of party organisation and processes of development that make it difficult «discussing of comparative party organisation without invoking the shorthand of mass, cadre and cartel party types» (Webb, Poguntke and Scarrow, 2017: 309). Although there is actually a tendency towards proliferation of typologies, research has identified different species of party organisation such as the ‘elite’, the ‘mass’ and the ‘electoralist’, which capture defining features of party organisation and internal power distribution, serving as reference for the analysis of parties in western established democracies, and inevitably influencing the way in which scholars look at party organisation in other contexts (Gunther and Diamond, 2003; Krouwel, 2006, 2012). In this section, we review the main models emphasising the distribution of power entailed in each typology.

1.1.1 From elite to mass organisations: cadre and mass party types

The dichotomic distinction between ‘cadre’ and ‘mass’ parties was theorised by Duverger (1957) based on the type of party genesis, i.e. internal vis-à-vis external formation. Accordingly, the cadre party emerged within the parliamentary institution, in the era before universal suffrage, was made up of groups of notables holding public offices and relied on a skeletal structure of intermitted electoral committees (Schlesinger and Schlesinger, 2006:

59). By contrast, the mass party emerged from the social groups excluded from the enfranchisement, thus its original purpose was to represent and socialise the masses to politics. As Sartori observes, the mass party represents a conception of party that «replaces personalised loyalties to local notables, or even to national personages» and whose «its constituent units are no longer persons but impersonal agencies» (Sartori, [1976] 2005: 15). This type of origin and primary goals influenced the development of a permanent extra-legislative organisation and the set-up of an extensive network of local branches encapsulating a large membership, which was the main source of funding and voluntary labour (Gunther and Diamond, 2003).

In such parties, the internal power distribution followed a bottom-up direction (Krouwel, 2006). The members held accountable the party executive and the public officials through the delegates elected at the congress, the top party body. However, already in the first decade of twentieth century, Michels (1962 [1911]) had questioned mass party's formal power distribution, positing the impossibility of democracy within parties due to the inherent oligarchical tendency of organisation. Drawing on the observation of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), Michels contended in fact that parties were only formally led by the grassroots since the real locus of authority lied in the party executive.

1.1.2 Catch-all and electoral-professional party types

In the second half of the 20th century, post-industrial western societies were radically transformed by cultural, economic and technologic processes. Systemic factors, such as societal secularisation, welfare-states' expansion and mass-media's pervasiveness reduced the social stratification and loosened strong ideological identities contributing to erode the social and political basis that have shaped politics up to then, and thus affecting traditional patterns of electoral competition, party alignments as well as party organisation (e.g. Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999; Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Norris, 2002).

Political scientists have tried to assess the impact of those long-term developments on party organisation. In the mid-1960s, Kirchheimer (1966) posited the emergence of the 'catch-all' as a new model of party organisation, resulting from the socio-economic and technologic transformations occurring in post-war democracies. According to Kirchheimer, the reduction in social stratification, fostered by the welfare policies, had triggered changes

in western electorates affecting partisan stability and long-term voters' orientation. Therefore, parties were pressured to concentrate their efforts on conquering voters' support rather than establishing a reservoir of loyal electors. The mass-media expansion enhanced this type of strategy enabling parties to reach out to electors without needing labour-intensive strategies based on activists and members' volunteer work.

Compared to the mass party, the formal power distribution is reversed. In the catch-all party it follows a top-down direction from the leadership to the membership, and party members do not play significant roles (Krouwel, 2006). Although scholars focused much attention on the sociological implications entailed in the catch-all model, i.e. the changes in party's social representation with the reduction of strong ideological stances and identification with a *classe gardée*, Kirchheimer's model entailed important elements of party's organisational transformational, summarised by Panebianco as follows: i) loosening of tight connections with affiliated organisations and, more in general, loosen organisational ties, with low differentiation at both the horizontal and vertical levels; ii) higher permeability of parties to interest groups; iii) decline of member's political weight within the party; iv) party leader's empowerment, due to financial resources and direct linkages with the electorate by means of relations established with external groups; v) weak and intermittent party-electorate relations, due to the erosion of strong social basis and political sub-cultures (1982: 479–480).

Stemming from Kirchheimer's analysis, Panebianco identified the 'electoral-professional party', emphasising the professionalisation and the replacement of party bureaucrats by non-partisan experts (1982: 481). For Panebianco, professionalisation changed the internal power balance, strengthening the position of public office-holders vis-à-vis party officials. The former derived their legitimacy and power from the institutional position, i.e. extra-organisational resources, while the latter were gradually losing influence capacity (ibid: 486). In the 'electoral-professional party' human and financial resources were controlled by the leadership, paving the way for the formation of personalised executives in lieu of the collegial and impersonal executives typical of the mass parties (ibid.: 482). The result was increasing power centralisation and top-down direction of power and internal system of governance (Krouwel, 2006).

1.1.3 The cartel party

In the early 1990s, Katz and Mair's (1992) comparative study of party organisation in advanced western democracies paved the way for the revitalisation of academic research on party organisation. The study set the basis for the development of a new theoretical framework for assessing party change, and for the theorisation of the 'cartel party' as an emerging party model across western democracies (Katz and Mair, 1995).

On the one hand, the cartel party thesis stressed some of the tendencies already posited by Kirchheimer's 'catch-all' and Panebianco's 'electoral-professional' models. For instance, building on Panebianco's argument, Katz and Mair looked at the growing professionalisation as a form of "depoliticisation" of the party organisation. Accordingly, parties' increasing reliance on external professionals marginalised the contribution of intra-party actors in gathering support for the party, with the result of allowing out the organisation and enhancing leadership's internal autonomy (Katz and Mair, 2002: 125).

On the other hand, the thesis innovated the understanding of party organisation and party change in several ways. First and foremost, it introduced an actor neglected by literature up to then, i.e. the state and its resources. The growing role assumed by public funding vis-à-vis private, associative and members' fees, in financing parties and electoral campaigns, contributed to change internal power distribution, boosting the position of the leadership and the public offices-holders (Katz and Mair, 2002: 123–124; Krouwel, 2006: 26). Mainstream parties especially benefited from state resources, due to their long governmental experience.² The public resources ensured by the occupation of power served these parties to sustain the organisation, to offset the weakening of their social connections, and to generate loyalty in a context of decline of partisan and ideological attachments. In this respect, Katz and Mair's model posited that the dependence on state resources affected inter-party dynamics by fostering the collusion (cartel) of the main governing parties to prevent new competitors to emerge (Blyth and Katz, 2005).³

A second element of innovation introduced by the cartel party regarded the "atomistic" conception of party membership. In such parties, the leader is increasingly able to connect with members, bypassing intermediate layers and activists. Thus, a direct relation is established with the individual member, isolated from the party structures on the ground.

² In this regard, the cartel thesis posits that parties' detachment from society and mainstream parties' low responsiveness would encourage the rise of anti-establishment movements challenging the 'cartel'.

³ However, little evidence has been found supporting this argument (see for instance Scarrow, 2006)

In such context, the leadership and the party at the central level more in general obviate to the need for local organisations and for local organisers (Mair, 1997: 114). Furthermore, party's organisational boundaries become more permeable, with growing indistinction between members and supporters (Harmel, 2006: 129). More in general, in cartel parties internal organisational ties are increasingly loosened.

A third innovative aspect deals precisely with the way the vertical relations are structured, namely with regard to the national leadership and the territorial organisations. Katz and Mair posited that between party levels a process of autonomisation takes place, thereby strataarchical relations replace hierarchical arrangements typically embedded in mass party conception (Katz and Mair, 1995, 2002; Krouwel, 2006: 258-60).

This literature contributed to the identification of processes indicating the emergence of electoral-oriented, professionalised, and leader-centered organisations in contemporary democracies. Yet, the idea of an evolutionary trajectory according to which parties would converge towards a single model has been questioned by the actual variation found in party organisation in a wide range of contemporary representative democracies (e.g. Scarrow, Webb and Poguntke, 2017). We will return to this topic more in detail in chapter 3.

1.2 Party's internal diversification. The three organisational faces and the change in power distribution

The cartel party thesis was built on the theoretical framework developed by Katz and Mair for assessing party adaption and party change and based on the assumption of parties as non-unitary actors which could be disaggregated into three organisational faces, the party on-the-ground (POG), the party in central office (PCO) and the party in public office (PPO) (Katz and Mair, 1993; Katz, 2002: 92-97). The framework matters for different reasons. Firstly, it has deeply influenced the way scholars look at parties' organisational solutions and internal diversification, including the centre-periphery relations, paving the way for the emergence of new theoretical contributions which explore parties as multi-level systems (Bardi, Bartolini and Trechsel, 2014; Carty, 2004; Bolleyer, 2012). Secondly, parties' disaggregation has enabled to examine and explain organisational changes in terms of party transformation and adaptation rather than decline. Finally, this model has travelled across different contexts, being tested in analyses of parties emerged in different polities, such as parties in new democracies (e.g. Szczerbiak, 2001; Biezen, 2003).

The theorisation emerged as a response to the limits of classic literature adopting linear paradigms based on dichotomic distinctions and single 'patterns of authority', which made it difficult to assess party's multi-dimensionality at the horizontal and vertical level, as well as in different fields of activities (Katz and Mair, 1993: 349; Katz and Mair, 2002). Such approaches were too reductionist to explain internal cooperation and conflict as well as changes in party's internal structures and decision-making processes. Building on Weber's conceptualisation of rational-legal authority, 'leader-followers' paradigm considered parties as rationally organised around a central group, made up of the leader and the party staff, vis-à-vis the mass of followers lacking resources for influencing party decisions (Whimster, 2008: 196). Therefore, it neglected the actual differences between 'followers' which comprise individuals with different goals, resources, and perceptions. Duverger detected the diversity in partisan affiliation distinguishing between 'militants', 'ordinary members', 'supporters' and 'electors' based on their degree of involvement, as well as empirical studies on activists and congress' attendants demonstrated the intra-group diversity (Duverger, 1951; May 1973; Reif, Cayrol and Niedermayer, 1980; Kitschelt, 1989; Scarrow, 2015). Likewise, the separation between 'extra-parliamentary' and 'parliamentary party' mixed different actors under a single label, with the former including the leadership but also the members and the activists, and the latter members of the government as well parliamentarians.

To assess in a more comprehensive way party's multi-dimensionality, Katz and Mair's framework broke up the organisation into three components, the party on-the-ground (POG), the party in central office (PCO) and the party in public office (PPO), each one holding its own internal hierarchy and pattern of authority and depending on a system of incentives and resources (i.e. constraints and opportunities) which affects its behaviour.

The party on-the-ground (POG) comprises the membership organisation, and its basic unit is the local branch. The POG is represented in the party governing bodies through the delegates elected at the national congress, and its main resources are members' fees and militants' voluntary work. As such, the POG has been affected the most, due to the decline in membership rates and activism. Moreover, it has been threatened by organisational reforms such as the centralisation of the affiliation process (e.g. creation of national membership record) (Katz, 2002: 97).

The central office (PCO) represents the extra-legislative party's governing body and is made up of the executive committee and the party bureaucracy. Its main function consists in the coordination of party's activities and resources and is the core of party's

communicational network (Katz, 2002). The PCO controls the formal rules and the distribution of selective and collective incentives. Nevertheless, it depends on the other two faces to implement decisions, i.e. the POG for carrying out the electoral campaign, the PPO for pursuing policy decisions. A second source of constrain lies in the mixed composition of the party national executive, which may include in the board members of the other faces (Katz, 2002: 99).

Finally, the party in public office (PPO) entails the members holding institutional offices, i.e. the parliamentary party group (PPG) and governors. The resources of the PPO consist of legal authority and the access to expertise and information, public subsidies and patronage, to mention the most significant. Its members are highly dependent on the electoral outcomes and on the responsibility of office. Consequently, the PPO is compelled to respond in the first place to the electorate's interest than to the POG's interests (Katz and Mair 1993, Katz 2002: 93; Katz, 2014).

Even though the framework conceptualises the faces as analytically distinct, empirically they may blur due to members' overlap. For instance, the party executive committee (PCO) may include members of the PPO. For Katz and Mair, members' overlap ensures the PPO to prevail over the PCO and thus to control it. Members' overlap might represent an important limitation in applying the framework to empirical cases, since it might be difficult to disentangle the type of relation of members with one or the other face.⁴

Katz and Mair argue that, due to the availability of (growing) state subsidies and the process of professionalisation, over time the public face has prevailed on the others. Thus, with regard to classic party models, there has been a shift from the mass party type, where the party on-the-ground is the most important face, to the cartel party, where the public face is the most privileged component. In terms of power distribution, parties have adapted to changing environments by redistributing the power internally and the decline of one face is offset by the empowerment of the other(s).

Such analysis has important theoretical implication because it allows to consider parties in terms of their relation with the state, not only with the society. The thesis of party decline was built precisely on this misconception. In light of this two-way perspective, the growing access to state resources has affected parties' incentives to draw resources from society (e.g. membership fees, business and associative contributions), and more in general to establish contacts with citizens, thus contributing to erode party-society relations which

⁴ Other scholars have interpreted member's overlapping in terms of party parliamentarisation (Koole, 1994: 291) and party governmentalisation (Müller, 1994: 73).

were traditionally ensured by the party on ground. On the other hand, party-state linkages have been tightened and, with them, the party public face.

The power redistribution has direct implications on party functions since the erosion of one face affects party's capacity to perform the function traditionally exercised by that component. On the one hand, party's anchoring on the state ensures parties' organisational survival and the performance of institutional and procedural functions, such as candidate selection and policy-making (Bartolini and Mair 2001; Lawson and Poguntke 2004; Dalton and McAllister, 2011). On the other, the weakening of social linkages has affected parties' capacity to perform representative functions and to intermediate between citizens and political institutions. However, as far as representative functions are the main source of party legitimacy, the new balance is not free from risks since it may undermine the public perception of parties as legitimate institutions (Torcal, 2001; Dalton and Weldon, 2005; Biezen, 2008; Webb, 2009; Mair, 2013; Enyedi, 2014; Ignazi 2014).

1.3 Party organisation and internal power distribution in new democracies

Katz and Mair's analytical framework has been developed with reference to parties emerged in established democracies, i.e. originally mass organisations formed from social cleavages and mass mobilisation, and it envisioned an evolutionary trajectory that departing from mass party comes to the contemporary electoralist and cartel typologies. Analysing parties emerged in new democracies, scholars have found important differences that inevitably influence the travelling capacity and applicability of the theories to those context (Huntington, 1991; Sczerbiack, 2001; Biezen, 2003, 2005; Lobo, 2003; Webb and White, 2007).

Accordingly, parties in new democracies emerged primarily as institutional rather than social actors (Pridham, 1990). Since the outset, party-state relations have been very tight, thus parties' incentives to build closer relations with society were reduced. In most cases, the primary goal faced by parties in new democracies concerned the definition of the political regime and the consolidation of democracy. Such urgency pressured the main parties to prioritise electoral mobilisation and voting-maximising strategies (i.e. catch-all strategy) than focusing on strong ideological stances and partisan attachment (Biezen 2003; Jalali, 2007; Webb and White, 2007). The establishment of strong linkages with social groups would have been less effective, more time-consuming and labour-demanding. Hence,

parties in new democracies emerged more as «*ad hoc* mobilizer rather than builders of structures like the German SPD or the social democrats in Scandinavia» (Puhle, 2002: 80).

The focus on electoral performance and winning office required an efficient and professionalised machine, and reduced party elites' incentives towards the expansion of the membership base, members' participation and involvement, as well as towards the set-up of widespread networks of territorial structures (Biezen, 2003). Furthermore, the formation in a context of mass communication and medialisation of politics represented a breeding ground for the implementation of such type of strategy.

In other words, parties in new democracies have not faced the same need to develop mass organisations «instead, they have shifted directly to the leader-centred professionalized model of parties of electoral contestation» (Webb and White, 2007: 361). In such context, party founders and leaders played a key role for enhancing party's internal cohesion and avoiding fragmentation and factionalism, likely to emerge in a context of fragile loyalties and weak institutionalisation (Panebianco, 1982; Biezen, 2003).

A key aspect for understanding the specificities of power distribution in new democracies deals with the resource structure. Since their formative phases, parties in new democracies benefited from public funding. In the case of governing parties, in particular, the resources ensured by the occupation of power were a key asset for building electoral and partisan support and for organising the consensus without needing to develop a strong organisation on the ground (Blondel, 2002; Kopecký and Mair, 2012; Jalali and Lisi, 2009). This observation is of great importance for the present research and namely for the understanding of the functioning of party organisation at the territorial level. For scholars, the aforementioned contextual and institutional factors at the time of formation, i.e. path dependency factors, have deeply moulded parties' internal functioning and power configuration (e.g. Biezen, 2003; Lisi, 2015a).

Exploring internal power distribution in 'third-wave' parties, scholars have pointed out distinct traits with respect to the expectations posited by the theories developed with reference to parties in older established democracies. Firstly, in new democracies, the party central office is the strongest face and the locus of power is concentrated in the extra-legislative organisation, namely the party executive. Thus, contrary to the expectation positing the ascendancy of the party public face, in new democracies the parliamentary face is subordinated to the party executive, by means of party discipline, control over the nominees for the parliamentary group's leadership, and members' overlapping (Biezen,

2003; Bosco and Morlino, 2006; see Lobo, 2003: 262-263, Leston-Bandeira, 2009; Teixeira, 2009, for the Portuguese case).

Moreover, dealing with the Portuguese case, Lobo (2003) has highlighted the importance of further specifying Katz and Mair's organisational tripartition, by breaking down party's public face in a governmental and a parliamentary component.⁵ Accordingly, when the party is incumbent, power distribution shifts in favour of the party in government, which prevails over the organisation through the governmentalisation of the party executive, indicated by the extensive presence of governors in the executive body (Lobo, 2005b).

Secondly, from the outset the party on-the-ground has been very weak. Mass party organisations have not truly emerged in those polities. While the form may have been somewhat adapted (e.g. party congress as formal top party body, dues-pay membership...) the substance is quite different. The party on-the-ground's structural weakness is illustrated by the low membership figures, the procedural definition of member's status with minimal obligations, and the absence of recruitment campaigns, as well as by the small number of local branches and high degree of independent candidates in local politics (Biezen, 2003; Bosco and Morlino, 2006). Accordingly, party elites in new democracies have not paid much attention to the membership organisation, except for its symbolic meaning and legitimacy function in terms of parties' public image. More in general, power concentration in the leadership is a key feature of third-wave parties, being apparent in the central control over financial and organisational resources, candidate selection and policy development. For scholars, such power configuration plays a key role in enhancing internal cohesion in the case of weakly institutionalised parties with fragile loyalties and loose internal linkages (Biezen, 2003: 214-215). From these observations it emerged that these parties attach a crucial importance to winning office, indicating that external pressures, such as electoral competition, and internal struggles have a key role in shaping power distribution (Lisi, 2015a).

These features show that state dependence and weak party-society relations – which in older established democracies are identified as relatively recent processes – in third-wave democracies are present from the outset (Katz and Mair, 1995; Mair, 1997; Biezen, 2004; Webb and White, 2007; Kopecký and Mair, 2011; Svåsand, 2013; Biezen and Kopecký, 2017). Therefore, while departing from different starting points, and differing in their legacies, parties in old and new democracies present common traits (Biezen, 2005).

⁵ In the Portuguese case, accumulation of parliamentary and governmental offices is forbidden.

However, as Biezen observes, in the case of new democracies, these features may be more accentuated since to «a larger degree than in the established democracies, political parties can be seen as encapsulated by the state» (2004: 718). This may imply that parties in new democracies will be particularly affected by the current trends regarding party organisation that we describe more in depth in the next sections.

1.4 Contemporary trends in party transformation

The return of party organisation at the centre of party politics' analysis has paved the way for the emergence of a growing number of studies investigating processes of party transformation. The following three sections deal with three main trends, namely the rise of party leaders, the intra-party democratisation, and the loosening of party's hierarchical configuration.

1.4.1 The personalisation of politics and the ascendancy of party leaders

As shown at the beginning of this chapter, the ascendancy of leaders within parties was already entailed in party models' literature which highlighted the shift from the collegial and impersonal executives of the mass party era, to the restricted and personalised party executives of catch-all and electoralist parties.

More recently, scholars have analysed the increasing prominence of leaders in the context of a broader process of 'personalisation of politics', according to which the popular focus on individual political actors has replaced the center stage once occupied by parties and collective identities (McAllister, 2007: 571; Karvonen, 2010: 4). This theme has attracted much attention in recent years being studied from several perspectives (e.g. Calise, 2000; Poguntke and Webb, 2005; Lobo, 2006, 2008; McAllister, 2007; Blondel *et al.* 2010; Karvonen, 2010; Bittner, 2011; Garzia, 2011; 2012; Lobo and Curtice, 2014; Passarelli, 2015; Rahat and Kenig, 2018). Three general causes have fostered the personalisation trend, namely i) the mediatization of politics, ii) party change and the erosion of party-society linkages, and iii) societal individualisation (Rahat and Kenig, 2018: 127). The interaction of these wide factors has contributed to the emphasis on individuals' roles to the detriment of collective actors.

One of the first systematic research on political personalisation processes has been carried out in the mid-2000s by Poguntke and Webb. Focusing on the head of government, Poguntke and Webb posited the emergence of a multi-faceted process of 'presidentialisation

of politics' understood «as the development of (a) increasing leadership power resources and autonomy within the party and the political executive respectively, and (b) increasingly leadership-centred electoral processes» (2005: 5). In other words, presidentialisation may concern the governmental, the party and the electoral arena. Accordingly, prime-minister's power is increasingly based on electoral appeal rather than «on organizational control of the party». As for the party facet, the presidentialisation is understood as «a shift in intra-party power to the benefit of the leader» vis-à-vis the party organisation (2005: 9). The adoption of formal rules assigning leaders more powers, the introduction of direct selection method, the availability of human and financial resources which ensure autonomy in drawing up policies, and the use of direct communication strategies are all evidences of the shift of power in favour of the party chairman. At the electoral level, presidentialisation is apparent in high media coverage on electoral leaders' and top candidates. Electoral studies literature, in particular, has paid much attention on this trend analysing leader effects on electoral behaviour (Lobo, 2008; Karvonen, 2010; Garzia, 2012; Lobo, 2014; Lobo and Curtice, 2014). This line of inquiry has highlighted an interesting aspect by focusing on the type of party organisation the leader belongs and his or her effect on voting. Analysing the impact of leaders in the vote for different types of parties Lobo (2006, 2008) has demonstrated that leader effects vary, with electors of catch-all and electorally-oriented parties being more sensitive to leaders than mass-parties' electors, consistently with the greater emphasis the former parties attach to leader during campaign. Therefore, in these parties, electoral performance should have a higher impact for the leadership stability.

An important aspect highlighted by Poguntke and Webb concerns the leader's relation with the party apparatus and hence with the territorial structures. Accordingly, the privileged position achieved by the leader will not be aimed at controlling the party machinery, but rather at improving the «leader's personal standing through coordinated planning and public relations activities». Although it is likely that the leader would try to consolidate his or her internal control over the party (for instance by means of internal rules) this is not an essential characteristic of the presidentialisation of party facet. At the same time, as they put it, leader's vulnerability in difficult phases is high since presidentialisation:

«is characterized by a shift towards personalized leadership which may be very strong as long as it is successful electorally, but which is likely to be vulnerable in times of impending or actual electoral defeat. In other words, we would expect

party leaders to be less likely to survive electoral defeat than has been the case in the past» (Poguntke and Webb, 2005: 9-10).

Therefore, in such parties, leader's stability within the organisation is highly dependent on his or her electoral appeal and the distribution of incentives generated by the occupation of power. On the one hand, incumbency protects the leader from pressures coming from the party. On the other hand, the potential for leadership instability is higher in the face of electoral defeats and during opposition status. Therefore, the higher instability experienced by personalised leadership is fostered precisely by the neglect of, or the reduced control over, the party machinery. At the opposition or in difficult times, this strategy should not be very feasible. In our view, it is therefore important to pay attention also to the dynamics of the party apparatus and the territorial organisation as leader's power base or internal source of challenges. Still, this issue has not received much attention by scholars. In line with Astudillo (2015), the argument of the reduced salience of controlling the party machinery – due to the combination of presidentialisation and ascendancy of the party in public office – deserves further examination in the case of parties in new democracies. In such contexts, in fact, it has been proved that the party in central office prevails over the party in public office, and this fact has a key role in maintaining the cohesion of the organisation in a context of weak internal loyalties.

1.4.2 Intra-party democratisation

The introduction of reforms aimed at including ordinary members (and even party supporters) in intra-party decisions, namely personnel selection for party and public offices (i.e. leader and candidate selection) and policy decisions, is one of the most recent developments regarding party organisation (Scarrow, Webb and Farrell, 2000; Scarrow, 2005; Kittilson and Scarrow, 2006; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Gauja, 2013). By opening internal processes to new actors, this type of reforms affects power distribution and redefines internal equilibria (Cross and Katz, 2013). Likewise, the party may decide to include other types of affiliates, such as the sympathisers whose relation with the party is based on a lower commitment compared to the dues-paying members. In doing so, parties further open their organisational boundaries. In terms of models of party democracy, members' inclusion indicates a shift from the delegative system and representative and 'assembly-based' model to a direct and 'plebiscitary-based' model of party democracy (Teorell, 1999; Allern and

Pedersen, 2007; Floridia, 2009; Invernizzi-Accetti and Wolkenstein, 2017; von dem Berge and Poguntke, 2017).

However, while a longitudinal trend towards more inclusiveness, especially in leadership and candidate selection, has been detected, scholars point out that the expansion of IPD democracy tends to be overestimated (Bille, 2001; Pilet and Cross, 2014; Cross and Pilet, 2016). For instance, leadership selection by an assembly of delegates continues to be the norm in most parties and the «image of a universal and irresistible evolution towards full member votes or even towards open primaries is far from reality» (Pilet and Cross, 2014: 227–228). Likewise, as for candidate selection findings are mixed. In some cases, members' participation has been empowered and inclusiveness improved, in other cases central control over MPs lists has been tightened (e.g. De Winter, 1988; Pennings and Hazan, 2001; Rahat and Hazan, 2001; Krouwel, 2012).

The democratisation trend seems to be particularly tricky for electoralist parties since these parties are pressured to find a balance between «leadership autonomy and procedural democracy» (Scarrow, Webb and Farrell, 2000: 133). On the one hand, public expectations and internal demands pressure these parties to expand participative opportunities, on the other, the leaders of electoralist parties increasingly need to retain or improve their room of maneuver, which may be constrained by democratisation.

Scholars have explained in different ways this «renewed commitment to members» (Seyd, 1999: 385) undertaken by political parties. Building on the general theories of party change (e.g. Panebianco, 1982; Harmel and Janda, 1994), Barnea and Rahat (2007) have developed a three-tiered analytical framework that systematises the range of explanations driving intra-party democracy (IPD) reforms.⁶ Accordingly, IPD reforms result from the interplay of environmental and internal pressures concerning i) the political system; ii) the party system; iii) the political party (Barnea and Rahat, 2007: 377-378). At the political system level, long-term factors, such as modernisation, personalisation and democratisation, influence public expectations towards parties. The pervasiveness of developments such as membership decline, anti-party sentiments and rise of electoral abstentionism, indicates the erosion of party-society linkages and citizens' perception towards party legitimacy. The introduction of new incentives to members' participation could be explained as an effort to improve the public image as well as to enhance organisational strength by stimulating new

⁶ Although Barnea and Rahat's framework refers specifically to candidate selection reforms it has been re-adapted and applied to other IPD reforms as well as party reform more in general (Lisi, 2010a; Gauja, 2017; Astudillo and Detterbeck, 2018).

enrollments (Scarrow, 2006; Gauja, 2014; Ignazi, 2014). In this regard, the political system level contributes to explain the ‘direction’ of the reform, i.e. more inclusion.

At the party system level, parties may be pushed to make the organisation more inclusive, due to pressures coming from their national competitors, i.e. isomorphism, or from electoral defeats and electoral competition, opposition status, and political scandals. The specificities and dynamics of the context in which individual parties operate shape the structure of opportunity for them to innovate in that sense. This range of explanations contributes to explain the ‘timing’ of reform, i.e. when is more likely that a party carries out IPD reforms.

Political and party system factors regard the environment in which parties operate, the third set of explanations concerns the political party as unit of analysis (e.g. intra-party groups and individual politicians) and internal dynamics. Accordingly leadership changes, intra-party struggles, the degree of stability of the dominant coalition and party mergers are key factors in encouraging change of party rules (Panebianco, 1982). Internal factors contribute to explain the ‘evolution’ and the ‘outcome’ of the reform and how the rules governing the process are shaped.

At the empirical level, scholars have investigated the role of these factors in influencing IPD reforms, especially in leadership and candidate selection. In a study on Westminster countries, Cross and Blais (2012) found that the decision to open leadership selection to members is likely to be adopted when the party is in opposition or after an electoral defeat. In such contexts, parties are particularly pressured to innovate and project the image of a modern and inclusive party. Likewise, contagion effect matters since newer, smaller, and left-wing parties are more likely to adopt such reform first, and to be then followed by the other parties in the system (see also Lisi, Freire and Barberà, 2016). The interplay of external and internal factors takes place when, after an electoral defeat, the power balance shifts from party elites to the party on-the-ground. In this case, the rank-and-file have more voice to ask for internal reforms which withdraw powers from party elites (Cross and Blais, 2012). However, rather than as an immediate reaction to electoral defeat, the direct election is likely to be undertaken when the party is in opposition, i.e. as a strategy to rebrand the party in view of the next election (Chiru *et al.*, 2016: 49). Interestingly, they found that the reforms may be implemented by a recently elected leader in order to consolidate his or her internal power. Likewise, in the case of Portugal, Lisi (2010a) has shown that instrumental motivations play a key role behind the adoption of this innovation by the main governing parties which are highly pressured both by electoral competition and

internal struggles. The decision to reform appears instrumentally directed at consolidating leader's internal power and improving party image in view of the electoral competition.

Cartel theorists place special emphasis on internal factors, since this line of research judges IPD reforms a strategy of elite control aimed at strengthening leadership's autonomy vis-à-vis intermediate strata and collective bodies (Katz and Mair, 1995, 2009; Mair, 1997). This argument lies in the membership atomisation inherent in cartel parties. Voting rights empower individual members at the expenses of the organised party on-the-ground, made up of middle-level elites and activists.⁷ Concurrently, parties use the reforms to respond to the developments at the political system level, and to «defend themselves against accusations of elitism and detachment from society» (Katz and Mair, 1995: 18). The result is the apparent paradox of IPD reforms that “encourage participation without ceding control” (Cross and Katz, 2013: 10).

Empirical findings support Katz and Mair's theoretical assumptions observing that the shift towards members' inclusion in candidate selection has not necessarily reduced national or subnational elites' capacity to retain control (Hopkin, 2001; Katz, 2001; Cross, 2016; Detterbeck, 2016). Rather, behind the appearance of a more inclusive process, power concentration may be enhanced. This finding is explained due to the fact that inclusive selectorates marginalise «alternative centres of internal power, such as parties' intermediate structures» (Hopkin, 2001: 358). In fact, the organised work carried out by the intermediate structures' on behalf of rival leaders is crucial in making the selection process competitive. Expanding the selectorate to ordinary members, that organised work is weakened and loses relevance. A similar mechanism appears to take place in leadership selection. As Kenig (2009) demonstrates, while inclusive selectorate do attract more candidates to leadership, the competitiveness of the contests is lower. In other words, while more candidates run, few of them are truly competitive. This finding indicates a tendency towards outcomes which are potentially more favorable to whoever controls the rules governing the process (i.e. the dominant coalition), rather than outsider candidates or minor factions. Cross and Blais' (2012) findings go in the same direction, with slight increase of aspirant candidates and lower competitiveness of the contests, compared to more exclusive selectorates. Such results have been then confirmed by studies regarding other countries (Pilet and Cross, 2014). Similarly, Schumacher and Giger, (2017) demonstrate that wider selectorates do foster party

⁷ Katz and Mair's argument was based on the May's Law of Curvilinear Disparity (1973) and the experience of the UK Labour.

leader's domination. Therefore, members' inclusion appears to be mainly used to «solicit a plebiscitary confirmation» of the leader rather than «by competing minority factions intended to show the leadership's lack of consensus in the rank and file» (Ignazi, 2018: 4). In this regard, democratisation should be seen as a factor contributing to foster personalisation tendencies and parties' leadership-centeredness.

At the same time, scholars have shown that leaders who are selected by party members tend to have a shorter tenure than those selected by more exclusive methods and appear to be more vulnerable after losing an election (Ennser-Jedenastik and Schumacher, 2016). In our view, this finding is particularly interesting because confirms that leaders elected without the support of the on-the-ground organised work of the party structures, but only by means of plebiscitary appeal to individual members, may be highly autonomous when in power but their vulnerability and instability is even higher in difficult times (and are therefore more easily replaced). As such, it demonstrates the importance of looking at the internal dynamics in more detail and at the relation of the leadership with the party apparatus.

1.4.3 The loosening of hierarchical relations and the stratarchical configuration

The third trend of organisational transformation concerns in a more direct way the territorial structures, since it deals with the loosening of hierarchical relations and organisational linkages within contemporary parties, and the reciprocal autonomisation between the party at the national level and the peripheral structures. However, compared to the trends of party transformation described in the former sections, few empirical studies have analysed this argument to date. For the present analysis, this argument is particularly relevant since it seeks to explain the functioning and organisation of electoralist parties without neglecting the lower organisational layers.

The replacement of party's hierarchical configuration has been firstly postulated by Katz and Mair with regard to the organisational dimension of the cartel party. In Mair's word, this process mirrors «the erosion of a sense of linkage even inside party itself» (1997: 152). Drawing on the concept of 'stratarchy' applied by Eldersveld (1964) to American parties, Katz and Mair posited the coexistence within the (cartel) party of mutually autonomous levels, each with distinct competences (Katz and Mair, 1995, 2009). This argument is based on the assumption that the party-on-the-ground cannot be completely

marginalised, mainly due to its legitimacy function. At the same time, this component may constrain leader's room for manoeuvre. Hence, by encouraging autonomy in local affairs, the national leadership is free to manage party policies and strategies, while concomitantly it keeps lower strata active and improves party image since autonomous structures would attract participation and enrolments.⁸ In other words, stratarchical arrangements serve to conciliate party leadership's autonomy with party cohesion (Katz and Mair, 1995; 2009).

Yet, the idea of division of competences was initially criticised at theoretical level. In this regard, scholars pointed out the difficulty in considering that local officers would not try to influence national leadership's decisions given that the politics and the image projected by the party at the national level have direct implications on local elections (Koole, 1996). Likewise, the argument that party's national elite is made up of professionals without local ties, and that delegates from lower strata are not present in national bodies, was considered implausible (Koole, 1996: 518; Detterbeck, 2005).

In this respect an important point needs to be specified. Although the model describes a relation of mutual autonomy, this does not imply that the relations are somewhat balanced. The leadership still keeps the upper hand since: «local leaders will always be discouraged from intervening in national affairs by the knowledge that the national leadership, if challenged, can appeal directly to the individual members» (Mair, 1997: 114). In cartel parties, in fact, the leadership ceases to be held accountable by the internal delegative system, but the leader's primary source of legitimacy has been transferred to individual (atomised) members and to the electorate more in general (Florida, 2009).

Building on Katz and Mair's theorisation a more recent strand of research has developed new approaches looking at parties as 'multi-level' organisations challenging the conception of parties as hierarchical systems where power is concentrated in a single place (Carty, 2004; van Hauten, 2009; Bolleyer, 2012).⁹ One of the first contribution in that sense

⁸ «Parties do of course still need and want local office-holders, and these might be troublesome for the central party were they to advocate policies or strategies which ran counter to those advanced by the national leadership. [...] As far as local matters are concerned, on the other hand, both sides have an interest in encouraging local autonomy. From the local office-holders' point of view, a relatively free hand is always desirable, while from the central party side an autonomous local party is more likely to encourage involvement and participation and is more likely to make the party attractive to potential members and supporters. Each side is therefore encouraged to allow the other a free hand. The result is stratarchy» (Mair, 1997: 114-115).

⁹ This perspective has influenced an important line of inquiry on parties in countries experiencing decentralisation reforms (e.g. Spain, Italy, United Kingdom), and how they have internally adapted or resisted to the changes in the external environment demonstrating that internal structure and power distribution are two different dimensions. Put it simple, they showed that decentralisation and creation of new party echelons to adapt to the new state setting may not necessarily foster power decentralisation within the party. Although this

has been developed by Carty (2004), who maintains that strataarchical configuration is an ‘organisational imperative’ of contemporary parties. Accordingly, contemporary parties resemble the business model of ‘franchise systems’ whereby the national leadership manages the ‘brand’ (i.e. policies) and the local organisations are in charge of distributing the ‘electoral product’ (Carty, 2004: 13). This arrangement provides the national and local levels with reciprocal autonomy while ensuring the coherency of the organisation. For Carty, this configuration enables to explain «the puzzle of increased exit at a time of enhanced voice» (2004: 16), i.e. membership decline and individual members’ empowerment. Depending on the organisational “contract” bargained by the centre with the peripheral structures, parties manage the flow of information, resources, personnel, as well as local autonomy through different solutions (Bardi, Bartolini and Trechsel, 2014). In other words, the centre-periphery arrangements are to be ascertained empirically:

«Decision-making on policy and programmatic issues is a matter for central party organization to ensure that the party is providing a consistent message to its supporters and the electorate» [...] «Critical personnel decisions can be made at various levels in strataarchical parties: candidates can be selected by local electoral district associations, by state level organizational bosses or by the national leadership, leaders by grassroots members or national conferences. As these are among the most important decisions made by parties, the power to do so is jealously guarded and fought over» (Carty, 2004:16).

Stemming from Katz and Mair’s and Carty’s contributions, Bolleyer (2012) classified parties’ internal diversification across levels according to three typologies, i.e. ‘party hierarchies’, ‘party strataarchies’ and ‘party federations’, understood as a *continuum* of structures shifting from the most power-concentrated (hierarchy) to the most power-dispersed (federation). The dimensions that capture these typologies are i) the «way competences and resources (e.g. candidate selection, conflict resolution, finances) are allocated to the national and regional or local level», and (ii) «the extent to which national interest representation follows territorial lines (composition of central party organs)» (Bolleyer, 2012: 319). Party strataarchy is located in the middle of the concentration-dispersion *continuum* because in strataarchies entail hierarchical elements since the national

strand of research matters since it show that parties are active agents and that centre-periphery relations are not merely influenced by structural factors as state setting (e.g. Duverger, 1957), the present thesis does not dialogue with this literature (see for instance: Biezen and Hopkin, 2006; Fabre, 2008).

party holds means for exercising control over the local structures, such as retaining powers in conflict resolution, finances distribution and centralised control over membership. Applying the typologies to empirical cases, Bolleyer finds variation rather than convergence towards one model: party hierarchies tend to be less diffuse, and to be ideologically rooted in right-wing parties. Beyond ideology, the institutional setting matters as well, since party federations tend to proliferate in federal systems while strataarchies in unitary settings. As far as party origin is concerned, Bolleyer finds that hierarchical elements of strataarchies tend to be pronounced in parties formed from a ‘top-down’ process, whereas in parties built from ‘bottom-up’, the peripheral structures tend to retain more autonomy and resist to centralising attempts (Bolleyer, 2012: 318).

Therefore, Bolleyer’s analysis shows that party characteristics, institutional factors, and path dependency contribute to shape the arrangements and pattern of relations that the party at the central level establishes with the peripheral structures. However, since her empirical analysis only regards non-governing (and relatively small) parties, it presents important limitations in the understanding of how governing parties arrange their relations with the local levels, and whether they follow patterns of autonomisation.

Beyond Bolleyer’s research, to date few investigations have explored at the empirical level the argument of strataarchy. In addition, their findings are mixed. While the concept is theoretically relevant since it maintains that power within parties is not entirely hierarchical or devolved, little evidence seems to support the idea that parties converge towards a pattern of mutual autonomy (Cross, 2016). Perhaps, one of the problems lies in the difficulty to operationalise the concept of strataarchy and to find empirical indicators (Crotty, 1991). Moreover, as Katz and Mair (2009) also acknowledged, it is still not clear how the concept of strataarchy, developed with reference to American and Canadian parties, may be adapted to the diversity of European institutional and political systems (Wolinetz, 2015).

Evidence of strataarchical arrangements between central and peripheral structures has been found in some cases, namely in the Italian and Spanish parties (Wilson, 2016). In the Italian case, strataarchical tendencies have received much attention due to the combination of the party system’s collapse after 1992 and the institutional reforms of decentralisation (e.g. Ignazi, Bardi and Massari, 2010, 2013; Ignazi and Pizzimenti, 2014; Calossi and Pizzimenti, 2015). Ignazi and Pizzimenti (2014) test the strataarchical argument assessing the changes in formal power distribution and resources’ allocation between the party at the central level and the peripheral structures, contrasting strataarchy to ‘power verticalisation’ conceived as

reinforcement of the central level to the detriment of the peripheral structures (Deschouwer, 2003: 215). While they find in centre-left parties some evidence of increased local autonomy over time, verticalisation tendencies better characterise centre-periphery relations in centre-right parties.

Their analysis highlights two interesting aspects. Firstly, even if local autonomy is improved, significant disparities in terms of access to key resources persist, and consequently potential for conflict. Secondly, local autonomy is limited since it does not regard strategic resources or decisional processes, such as financing or candidate selection which by contrast are retained by the party at the national level. Hence, the fact that local autonomy (i.e. strataarchical configuration) regards non-strategic resources should be interpreted as indicator of central party's disregard of the organisation on the ground, in favour of the control of resources originated outside the organisation (i.e. state resources).

In the Scandinavian case, Allern and Saglie (2012) have explored the formal and informal links established between the central organisation, the regional and the municipal branches and have investigated strataarchical relations in the case of Norwegian parties. Their results are mixed. Although they find elements of non-hierarchical arrangements, there is not the convergence towards a single model of relations across levels, such as posited by the strataarchical argument. However, Allern and Saglie's focus is quite narrow, being circumscribed to policy-making in-between elections and to communication channels. Still, it has the advantage of showing the complexities of centre-periphery relations in unitary countries (2012: 952).

Likewise, a recent comparative study on Westminster countries questions the assumption of mutual autonomy between the central and peripheral structures (Cross, 2016). Investigating the allocation of powers in policy development, and leadership and candidate selection, Cross concludes that the thesis «of individual areas of authority parceled out to different levels of the party» is not supported. Rather than separation of powers, the relations resemble a sort of «checks-and-balances form of power-sharing» whereby «both local and central party personnel play an important role in each of the key areas of intraparty decision-making» (2016: 4). Consequently, Cross suggests that actually parties adapt and calibrate their internal power-sharing to reflect their contextual circumstances, such as the shift to the opposition or an electoral defeat and, under specific circumstances the national-local 'bargain' may be re-negotiated, or recalibrated, by the actors involved (Cross, 2016: 22).

These findings highlight that centre-periphery relations are not static, but different dynamics may emerge in this dimension. This argument matters precisely because one of the main limitations of the stratarchical argument lies in the fact that it has been conceived and studied as a static organisational model. For Carty, «once institutionalized, all elements must recognize their part and accept the power and role trade-offs as a necessary part of the bargain for making the party, as a whole, successful» (2004: 12). As such, it underestimates the potential changes pushed by external factors, such as party's shift from government to opposition, or electoral defeats, which imply a destabilising effect on the internal relations in parties highly dependent on the occupation of power.

However, few studies have adopted a more dynamic perspective which allows to consider the conjunctural phases faced by parties. For instance, Bolleyer's analysis (2009) on the case of the Irish Fiánna Fail, an ideal-typically cartel party, suggests the relevance of governmental position in shaping the relations across levels. Likewise, in the Portuguese case, Lisi (2009: 294-300) maintains the advantage of adopting a dynamic approach for analysing intra-party relations observing parties in government and in opposition. While in some parties the arrangement between the central and the peripheral structures may be more or less static, this seems not to be the case for those parties highly dependent on the resources embedded in the access to government. As mentioned, in such parties the national leadership is relatively strong but, at the same time, under specific circumstances, such as electoral defeats and opposition status, is more vulnerable. In such case, the territorial organisation may regain voice or its control may be crucial.

An important aspect of stratarchical configuration which has not received much attention, is the role of the actors controlling the party organisation at the territorial level. Indeed, scholars often describe stratarchical arrangements in terms of personalised relations involving the national leadership and the sub-national elites. For instance, analysing patterns of party patronage, Biezen and Kopecký (2014) find support for stratarchy as predicted by the cartel party thesis, whereby «sub-national notables offering the national leaders an organisational base for national political competition in exchange for a lack of interference in their own local operations and their use of local public resources» (Biezen and Kopecký, 2014: 10). Likewise, Wilson shows that Italian regional presidents and mayors use their «position to develop a personalised control over their regional party» (2016: 76). From this perspective, the autonomy entailed in stratarchical relations may reflect the desire of the

national party to find balances in terms of «power relations among the party elites at various levels, and not to better respond to citizens' demands and expectations» (Bardi, Bartolini, and Trechsel, 2014: 8). On the other hand, an important implication may be that the national leadership loses control over the local organisation and the selection of the party personnel in the periphery (Floridia, 2009). In such case, it may become difficult for the national leadership to impose decisions, such as to remove local politicians with personalised consensus on the ground. In this respect, stratarchical arrangements may be interpreted as a sort of «return to the system of local notables» updated to a post-ideological and mediatic age (Mencacci, 2017: 61).

Of course, these observations add a new perspective to the stratarchy originally understood by Katz and Mair, i.e. as a solution found by contemporary parties for maintaining active the party on the ground since an autonomous local party attracts participation and involvement and enhances party legitimacy. At the same time, they underline the relevance of looking at the party territorial organisation placing special emphasis on the local elites.

Chapter II

The roadmap of the research

Introduction

This thesis analyses party organisation and the internal power distribution in the Portuguese case. The study pays special attention to the territorial party structures and their relationship with the party at the central level.¹⁰ Building on the assumption that parties are not ‘monolithic entities’ (Daalder, 1983; Bolleyer, 2012: 315) this research contends that the analysis of the parties’ lower echelons sheds light on intra-party functioning and thus contributes to understanding the processes of organisational change, or the lack of thereof, within Portuguese parties.

The processes of transformation identified by party research in the last decades, and discussed in chapter 1, cannot be fully understood without an in-depth analysis of the parties’ territorial organisation. Indeed, this component is directly affected by those processes, such as the empowerment of the leadership vis-à-vis the collective and intermediate bodies; the rise of personalisation; the presidentialisation of the party structures; the atomisation of the membership; and the replacement of party hierarchical ties with looser arrangements and leadership-oriented networks.¹¹ These trends may affect the internal mechanisms of accountability and the mediating role of the party organisation and its structures, fostering the demobilisation of the territorial (and functional) party strata, and thus further eroding parties’ capacity to build connections and channel societal demands into the political realm (Ignazi, 2018: 8).

The goal of this thesis is twofold. Firstly, it aims to contribute to the knowledge of the party territorial organisation, filling the existing gap in the literature on Portuguese parties. Secondly, by placing the Portuguese case in the context of party transformations identified by literature in recent decades, it aims to explore through an in-depth empirical

¹⁰ The central level is understood as the national party leadership and the party executive. Throughout the thesis the expressions ‘central party/peripheral structures’ and ‘national party/territorial party structures’ are used to indicate the same concept.

¹¹ Moreover, due to the expansion of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) some scholars envision the emergence of ‘cyber-parties’ structured on digital platforms, and the substitution of territorially-based model of party organisation structured on local ‘branches’ and ‘associations’ (Margetts, 2006).

analysis whether and to what extent this case is representative of the processes of changes that affect power distribution within parties in contemporary representative democracies.

2.1 The peripheral party structures: an uncharted territory

This section discusses the relevance of the analysis in light of the existing works on the theme and presents the research questions that drive the study. In the Portuguese case, the territorial apparatus of the party organisation is an under-researched topic. Party research has mainly focused on the national level, such as the party leadership and the national bodies (e.g. Lobo, 2003, 2005a; Lisi, 2011, 2015a), the governmentalisation of the party executive (e.g. Lobo, 2005b), as well as parliamentary elites (e.g. Freire, 2001; Belchior, 2008; Freire and Viegas, 2015). As for the party organisation on the ground, systematic studies have explored key dimensions, such as the longitudinal evolution of the membership figures (e.g. Bosco and Morlino, 2006; Correia, 2017; Fazendeiro, 2017), and the opinion structure of delegates and members (e.g. Stock and Rosa, 1985; Jalali and Lobo, 2007; Lisi, 2015b; Lisi and Espírito-Santo, 2017). To be fair, the territorial party structures, at the district and local level, have been addressed in relation to specific dimensions, namely party models (Lopes, 2002), candidate selection (e.g. Freire, 2003; Teixeira, 2009; Freire and Teixeira 2011), local power (e.g. Almeida, 2008; Teles, 2012; Tavares *et al.*, 2015), as well as patterns of party patronage (e.g. Jalali and Lisi, 2009).

In the case of new democracies, like Portugal, the scant attention paid to the territorial organisation may be explained due to the perception of the irrelevance of this component in parties characterised since their formative years by large availability of public funding, and power concentration in party leadership and national executives (Biezen, 2003: 167).

As the new-institutionalist approach contends, the main features of party organisational development in new democracies result from the interplay of environmental and institutional factors with the strategic choices and behaviours of party elites (Biezen, 2003). As such, party elites held few incentives to invest in the territorial structure and, more generally, in the organisational penetration on the ground. Hence, they privileged a strategy based on the resources provided by the access to power (e.g. patronage, appointments), and the clientelist networks, for building societal connections and setting their organisational presence at the territorial level (Morlino, 1998; Kopecký and Mair, 2007, 2011). Yet, it is precisely for this reason that it is important to study the territorial organization of parties in

third wave democracies, for understanding the intra-party dynamics and party functioning on the ground (and in local power) in absence of a strong organisation.

On 25 April 1974, at the outbreak of the “Carnation Revolution” that paved the way for the Portuguese transition to democracy and inaugurated the “third wave of democratisation” (Huntington, 1991), only the Portuguese Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Português* – PCP), held a mass-based organisation, built clandestinely during the dictatorship. By contrast, the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista* – PS) had been founded only one year before, in 1973, while the Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrata* – PSD) and the Democratic and Social Centre (*Centro Democrático-Social* – CDS), were formed from scratch immediately after the revolution (Stock, 1985; Lopes and Freire, 2002).¹² The revolutionary context and the political radicalism of 1974-1975 (Schmitter, 1999; Cerezales, 2003), made the definition of the political regime the main cleavage of party competition, with on the one hand, the PS, PSD and CDS supporting the liberal democracy and, on the other, the PCP and minor groups of extreme-left promoting the construction of a socialist regime (Jalali, 2007). Hence, building a broader social support was more effective than establishing deep-rooted connections with specific groups or classes. The new parties preferred a “catch-all” strategy, based on loose and vague ideological stances, and the development of a flexible and electorally more efficient organisational structure (Kirchheimer, 1966; Jalali, 2007). Furthermore, the formation in a context of wide public funding availability and mass-media diffusion, coupled with a political culture of distrust and apathy (Pridham, 1990; Bacalhau, 1994), removed the party elites’ incentives in building strong societal linkages and reinforced tendencies towards centralisation, leadership prominence and personalism (Lobo, 2000; Biezen, 2003: 41).

As Jalali (2007: 129) observes in the Portuguese case, national and local power worked as a transmission belt compensating the weakness of parties’ societal roots and enhancing their organisational structure. The parties’ entrenchment in local power served to shore up the (weak) party organisation and build support and consensus on the ground (Jalali and Lisi, 2009). As such, the cartelisation features and dynamics that connotate the main Portuguese governing parties (de Sousa, 2004; Lopes, 2004: 130; Jalali, 2007; Magone, 2007; Lisi, 2015a) are also present at the local level (Jalali, 2014).

¹² Hereafter referred to as PCP, PS, PSD and CDS. The PPD-PSD was officially registered after the formation of the first provisional government, and party founders’ participation to the government.

2.1.2 What we know about parties' territorial organisation?

In the Portuguese case party literature has initially described the centre-periphery relations as hierarchically-based (Bruneau and MacLeod, 1986; Bruneau, 1997). Accordingly, the centre exercises a tight control over the peripheral structures and the intra-party dynamics more in general. Several factors support this assessment, namely the unitary structure of the state encouraging party centralisation (Duverger, 1954), the electoral system based on proportional representation and closed lists, the party financing regime, the centralisation of key party decisions, and the prominence of the leadership, especially when it is strongly personalised (Teixeira, 2009: 319-320).¹³

However, more recent studies on party change suggest that the relation between the national party and the territorial structures is not linear and variations to the hierarchical paradigm emerge, especially in the case of the main governing parties, the PS and the PSD (Bosco and Morlino, 2006; Jalali, 2006, 2007; Lisi, 2009). Jalali (2007) contends that the relation between levels is based on an informal pact of mutual autonomy and division of competences, resembling the strataarchical equilibrium (Katz and Mair, 1995; Carty, 2004). As such, «local leaders provide organizations entrenched in local power (or in a part of it) and their mobilization to the national leadership in change of non-interference in their provincial interests» (Jalali, 2007: 169). In return, the leadership holds free rein in party's national policies and strategic choices. The entrenchment of the territorial structures in the local power and the ascendancy of local leaders to the party's national bodies encouraged the autonomy held by the periphery in local issues. This balance would be disrupted when local interests are threatened by measures defended or implemented by the national level, causing intra-party conflicts (*idem*).

The degree of autonomy and power retained by some local politicians and structures in local affairs suggests that the party periphery manages to control resources of the external environment, i.e. local power, as well organisational resources, i.e. members and allocation of party posts (Ruivo, 1993; Lopes, 2005). Lopes (2005: 367) observes the presence of «structural incoherency» within the PS, with some territorial structures capable to obtain resources from the environment to be used as an exchange resource in intra-party dynamics and explains this feature with the low degree of party institutionalisation (Panebianco, 1982).

¹³ As Teixeira highlights the increase in public funding vis-à-vis private contributions enhances national party's dominance due to its control over the subsidies resources allocated to parties by the state.

Hence, the different political weight of the structures may also affect the national-local balance of power (Teixeira, 2009: 335). However, scholars also observe that the practices and the reforms undertaken by the PS in the early 2000s (e.g. organisational measures and more space to independents) were aimed at counteracting this phenomenon, by reducing the influence capacity of the sub-national units (Lopes, 2005).

Analysing the PS, Lisi (2009) argues that since the end of the 1980s organisational reforms have enhanced the powers of the party subunits: the party federations started to play an important role in candidate selection and electoral mobilisation, and the local structures in the coordination of the local politics, suggesting a process of autonomisation. This process would have been improved and consolidated during the subsequent phase in government, in the second half of the 1990s (Lisi, 2009: 294-300). Central efforts to counteract the process seemed to emerge during the brief time in opposition (Lisi, 2009). For this scholar, in the case of the PS this trend seems to indicate the proximity to the stratarchical configuration described by Carty (2004), at least during the long period in government experienced by the party (1995-2001).

Likewise, Jalali (2006) argues that the establishment of reciprocal spheres of autonomy between the national and local elites, i.e. 'stratarchy', characterises the PSD, becoming this arrangement more apparent when the party shifted to the opposition after the long incumbency, first in coalition and then alone, only few years after party formation. For Jalali, in the case of the PSD, path dependency seems to play an important role in this configuration, with the tendency towards the autonomy of the periphery following from the specificities of the party origin. Thus, party features interact with more conjunctural factors (i.e. weak and non-charismatic leadership, opposition status) making it more difficult the aggregation of consensus and enhancing the position of the peripheral structures vis-à-vis the national leadership (Lopes 2002: 63; Jalali, 2006).

These studies highlight two issues. Firstly, they suggest that centre-periphery relations are complex and cannot be assessed only resorting to the assumption of static and hierarchically-based relations. Accordingly, it is important to pay attention to both long-term and short-term factors and external and internal factors, i.e. party and institutional features, government-opposition status and party leadership stability (with the latter often being influenced by the former). In fact, the vulnerability that is likely to characterise leaders of state-dependent parties, and that constrain their capacity to build internal consensus, in the case of parties in new democracies is fuelled by the lack of strong loyalties and tendency

towards personalistic factionalism. It is important to understand the role of the territorial organisation in sustaining the leader power base, in consolidating internal power and legitimacy, or in being a source of internal challenges and pressures. This also matters since, as Lisi (2015a) maintains, internal pressures and power struggles are an important yet overlooked factor for explaining party change (or inertia) in the Portuguese case, and in new democracies more in general. The second issue regards the capacity of sub-national leaders to control, with large degree of autonomy from the centre, the resources derived from their access to local power and from the party organisation at local level (e.g. membership, party posts) (Bosco and Morlino, 2006: 19; Jalali, 2007: 166; Lisi, 2006, 2011: 236). This feature may foster the emergency of relations based around personalist and individual linkages vis-à-vis impersonal and organisational ties.

The studies examined in this section deal with the territorial organisation mainly in terms of centre-periphery relations. Our purpose is broader: we argue that it is important to narrow the focus and to also look at the dynamics, structures, resources, and actors related with the territorial organisation. This perspective would allow us to explore to what extent the party structures are affected and reproduce at the territorial level the trends of organisational transformation identified by scholars and what factors explain the internal balance of power.

Hence, building on the above discussion, this analysis seeks to respond to the following research questions:

RQ1. *To what extent has the relationship between the national and the local level evolved towards a stratarchical configuration?*

RQ2. *What factors explain the internal balance of power between these party components in the PS and the PSD?*

RQ3. *To what extent has the personalisation of Portuguese parties emerged also at the territorial level?*

RQ4. *To what extent has the democratisation of Portuguese parties emerged also at the territorial level?*

2.2 The pathway of the empirical research

In this section we set out the operationalisation of the empirical research and define the case selection, the hypotheses, the collected data and the methods applied in order to respond to the research questions that drive the thesis.

2.2.1 Case selection

We have selected the two main Portuguese parties, the PS and PSD. Different reasons drove the choice for these parties. Firstly, the PS and the PSD are the only two parties displaying a high degree of ‘nationalisation’, they have a wide-national organisational coverage and an institutional presence at local level (Martins, 2004; Freire, 2005; Silva, 2005; Jalali, 2007; Lisi, 2011). Secondly, they share elements associated to the main trends of transformation identified by literature, namely cartelisation and personalisation tendencies. Scholars have shown that they extensively resort to public funding (Biezen, 2000b; de Sousa, 2004; Martins, 2005); the party leader occupies a prominent position and is increasingly relevant in influencing voting behavior (Lobo, 2005a, 2006; Lobo and Silva, 2018). The third reason lies in the salience of party’s institutional position and the relevance for the intra-party relations to be in or outside office (Lobo, 2005b; Lisi, 2006; 2015a). Both the PS and PSD are governing parties therefore they are allegedly pressured by similar external factors. Finally, they have undertaken democratisation reforms (the most important being the direct election of the leader by ordinary members) and introduced mechanisms to improve the participation of independents in intra-party activities (Lisi, 2010a; 2015a; Lisi and Freire, 2014; Sanches and Razzuoli, 2017).

On the other hand, the PS and PSD display important differences. Firstly, the nature of party formation is characterised by penetration from the centre and top-down direction in the case of the PS, vis-à-vis the more locally-based formation in the case of the PSD (Panebianco, 1982; Corkill, 1995: 75; Frain, 1997; Lopes, 2004; Stock, 2005; Jalali, 2007). In the latter case, in fact, the co-optation of local elites has been carried out without control from the centre, fostered the formation of factions around personalities and local and regional notables (Frain, 1997: 88). Thus, the PSD’s origin seems more a sort of hybrid between a process of penetration and one of diffusion. Then, in terms of ideological spectrum: the PS is a centre-left party while the PSD is a centre-right party. Finally, these two parties present different degrees of decentralisation-centralisation in key functions, such as candidate selection, with the PSD displaying a higher degree of decentralisation (Freire,

2003; Teixeira, 2009). In light of these differences, the comparison of the PS and PSD may contribute to illustrate the role of different party features in shaping intra-party relations.

The choice of analysing parties in a single country allows us to control for the state structure as an institutional factor influencing party's internal articulation and centre-periphery relations (Duverger, 1954; Panebianco, 1982; Bolleyer, 2012). We have decided to exclude from the analysis the party structures in the autonomous regions of Madeira and Azores' archipelagos, due to their special status within the organisation (e.g. representation in the party national bodies), and the different structure of political competition (i.e. regional government) the parties face in those contexts.

2.2.2 Hypotheses and operationalisation

Following the above discussion and with the purpose of responding to the research questions, this section specifies the hypotheses of investigation and the operationalisation of the empirical research. We first test the stratarchy argument which posits the evolution towards mutual autonomy between the national and the local levels in cartel parties (Katz and Mair, 1995). Following this argument:

1) We expect to find an increasing degree of reciprocal autonomy between the national and the local level in both the PS and the PSD over time.

We analyse this argument through a dynamic perspective, in terms of a process that may present variations over time and space, not as a static organisational configuration. This perspective stems from the conception of hierarchy and stratarchy as a *continuum* rather than two opposite internal configurations (Carty, 2004; Bolleyer, 2012; Cross, 2016). More precisely, this approach lies in the salience of party institutional position in affecting internal dynamics and leader's power in electoralist parties. Literature suggests that being in government and in opposition changes the leverage of national leadership. While incumbency brings stability, opposition increases pressures from within and affects the leader's capacity to build internal consensus. Accordingly, this factor shapes intra-party dynamics and the need of the leadership to reinforce the cohesion and the control over the party organisation. As Bolleyer (2009: 17) puts it: «In times of opposition the relationship between the leadership and the party as organisation changes since the infrastructure becomes a core source of control». This implies the adoption of measures that ensure control,

included the interference in local processes. By contrast, being in government, especially for long periods, allows the national leadership to neglect the organisation. Therefore:

2) Stratarchical features (reciprocal autonomy) characterise the relations between the national and the territorial levels when the party is incumbent, while attempts to reinforce hierarchical control are expected under opposition status.

This expectation is based on the assumption that the two parties would converge, regardless of party characteristics and structural factors, since they are pressured by the same conditions and by the different resources provided by the institutional position.

However, a counter-argument emerges in the role of long-term factors and party characteristics in affecting party organisational modalities and the propensity of parties to change their internal configuration (Duverger, 1954; Panebianco, 1982). As such, genetic origin may exercise path dependency effects on the stratarchical/hierarchical *continuum* (Bolleyer, 2012).

Hence, our expectation is that:

3) Parties formed by a top-down process tend to maintain hierarchical features, whereas a decentralised origin fosters local autonomy and resistance to hierarchical attempts.

To test these hypotheses, we examine the patterns of relation from a diachronic perspective. From 1974 onwards, the PS and PSD have undergone different phases, alternating periods in opposition and in government, and have been led by different leaders with distinct leadership styles and longevity in office. Hence, this perspective enables us to observe whether variations in patterns of power relations and internal functioning do emerge. We believe that the rationale behind a shift towards a hierarchical direction lies in the need (and pressure) of the leadership to generate support and reinforce internal cohesion outside office.

Building on the analysis developed by Bolleyer (2009: 9), we provide a longitudinal account of the dynamics that have characterised the national leadership and the territorial structures, focusing on the cycles of reform and reform attempts. We examine whether efforts of the centre to strengthen the control over the periphery emerged or are intensified in opposition, i.e. in absence of the resources ensured by the occupation of power.

To this aim, we seek to identify the adoption of «intra-organizational means of control» (*ibid.*), which comprise a set of measures indicating (1) the attempt of the national leadership to tighten the control over the territorial structures and their activities. In practice, we try to

detect the national intervention in areas of competences of the local structures. Thus, we look especially at the cycles of reforms and reforms attempts that regard the membership affiliation and members' fees, the organisational boundaries and the candidate selection process at national and local level. The indicators examined regard the centralising/tightening of control of membership recruitment and fees' payment; the revision of membership procedures (rights/duties) and the rules that govern the territorial organisation; the update of the membership registers; the reform of candidate selection (CS) rules, the interference in the selection processes; efforts to enhance the compliance with rules. Similarly, we pay attention to measures indicating (2) the efforts to establish a more integrated and bounded internal organisation vis-à-vis the looser ties embedded in the strataarchical configuration, and to revitalise the organisation and enhance internal cohesion by appealing to members. Potential indicators of this strategy are detected in measures aimed at reinforcing the "infrastructure" (e.g. creation of new posts, staff renewal) and establishing collective and participative incentives (*ibid.*). This analysis is carried out in chapter 4 of the thesis.

In Chapter 5 we shift from the diachronic-dynamic approach to a synchronic-static one. Our units of analysis are the territorial structures, namely the middle-level echelon, i.e. the nineteen PS federations and the nineteen PSD district-structures. We provide a descriptive analysis of their organisation, resources and competences. These dimensions have been investigated in studies that focused on the regional party organisations and the relation with the party at the national level (e.g. Fabre, 2010; Ignazi and Pizzimenti, 2014; Calossi and Pizzimenti, 2015). The analysis carried out in this chapter serves to frame the territorial organisation of the two parties and to introduce the following steps of the analysis. The examination of these dimensions, based on the formal rules, is complemented with the information collected through the elite interviews about unwritten practices and actual procedures of intra-party functioning.

Thus, we look at the processes of party transformation towards personalisation and democratisation experienced by parties, hypothesising that they are reproduced at the local level. Hence, our fourth hypothesis states that:

4) Territorial party structures have experienced a growing personalisation in both the PS and the PSD over time.

To test this hypothesis, we further narrow the analysis by focusing on the territorial structures' leaders, the federation presidents (PS) and the district presidents (PSD). The leaders of this layer, placed at the intersection of the national and local levels, control the bureaucratic organisation and play a key role in the chain of command and coordination that links the national party to the party on the ground (van Houten, 2009; Allern and Saglie, 2012; Aarebrot and Saglie, 2013). These actors are in charge of representing and communicating the instances of the party's backbone to the highest levels and ensuring to the party leader the mobilisation of the party machine. Moreover, they are involved in key functions, namely the MPs candidate selection, the coordination of the local elections' campaign and the relations with the party in local power. Finally, when their role overlaps with national or local public offices, they hold additional resources and political capital. In the second half of the 1990s, both the PS and the PSD changed the selection method of these sub-national leaders, which had been based until then on the "assembly-based" election shifting to the direct election by members.¹⁴ This measure withdrew the power from the assembly bodies in favour of ordinary members.

The empirical analysis focuses on the internal elections for the selection of these actors, held between 2003 and 2017, and the dynamics of the disputes in terms of (1) process and (2) outcome. While there is a lot of research on the national leadership selection (e.g. Lisi, 2010; 2015a; Lisi and Freire, 2014), to our best knowledge these disputes have not been systematically analysed in the Portuguese case. The analysis is based on the most recent studies on party leadership selection (e.g. Cross and Blais, 2012; Pilet and Cross, 2014; Cross and Pilet, 2016; Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer, 2016). It focuses on the dimensions of (1) competition and competitiveness, measured in terms of number of candidates and margins of victory between the top two finishers, (2) turnover rates, and (3) characteristics of the winners (i.e. overlap with elective public offices). Due to the lack of availability of data, it is not possible to carry out a systematic analysis of the participation rates. Still, we are able to make some observations on the general trends.

Through this analysis we seek to explore different aspects: to what extent the selections are disputed, to what extent elites' circulation takes place, whether the elected leaders also occupy position in public offices at different levels, whether significant differences within and between the PS and the PSD can be detected. Finally, we see whether,

¹⁴ The first direct elections have been held in 1997 in the PSD and in 1998 in the PS.

if any, relation can be established with the party institutional status and/or the party leadership (in)stability.

We contend that the analysis of these dynamics at the territorial level matters for different reasons. The extent of party's renewal, or its absence, in the leading bodies may be an indicator of a personalised and leader-oriented control of the party organisation at the territorial level. In particular, due to the district-structures' role in selecting candidates for national and local public offices, the renewal, or the lack of thereof, has direct implications on the institutional representation. More in general, rotation should provide new stimulus and different perspectives, thus enhancing parties' capacity to adapt and respond to changing instances of society. Likewise, competitiveness, or the lack of thereof, reveals the autonomy of the territorial elites in controlling the organisation on the ground. Moreover, it is directly related to members' participation to party life, that is whether members are called to rubber-stamp the election of a single-candidate or are presented with alternative candidacies (and thus alternative proposals). The analysis of the PS and the PSD is carried out in chapter 6 and chapter 7 respectively.

The last hypothesis regards the democratisation processes involving the territorial structures, stating that:

5) Territorial party structures have experienced a growing democratisation in both the PS and the PSD over time.

This expectation is examined by considering the reforms carried out by the party at the national level that regard members' involvement in intra-party processes. It has been explored in the longitudinal chapter, as well as in chapter 6 and 7. More in general, we still know little about the most recent intra-party democracy (IPD) reforms in both parties, to what extent the PS and PSD are undertaking different trajectories. Therefore, beyond the longitudinal analysis and the examination of intra-party elections, we also look at the most recent reforms (and reform attempts) of IPD experienced since 2010s in both parties to see to what extent the territorial structures are affected by these processes. In particular, the democratisation measures experimented by the PS in the recent years (2013-2015) provide the opportunity to observe and discuss the territorial structures' involvement. Chapter 8 examines the closed primaries that took place in 2013 for selecting the PS mayoral candidates, and the unprecedented open primaries for selecting the prime ministerial

candidate, held in 2014. As for the PSD, the analysis focuses on the (failed) attempts of innovation and the territorial leaders' perception towards this type of reforms.

2.2.3 Data and methods

Different types of data from primary and secondary sources have been collected. The triangulation of such data enables us to explore and compare the selected parties in a comprehensive way using qualitative and quantitative methods.

Firstly, an important source of data derives from the unique opportunity to participate to the data collection for the “Political Party Database” (PPDB). The PPDB is an international collaborative project that involves several scholars from different countries (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb *et al.*, 2016).¹⁵ From 2011 onwards, the project surveyed 122 party organisations across 19 parliamentary and semi-presidential democracies. Drawing on Katz and Mair's Party Organisation Database (1992), the PPDB has started to collect a remarkable amount of information on parties' formal rules and empirical data in key organisational dimensions, namely resources, structures and internal decision-making processes. As such, it is one of the most important projects within the renewed academic interest in party organisation (Borz and Janda, 2018). The data gathered in the context of the project are used in chapter 3 as starting point of the analysis in order to frame the Portuguese case in comparative perspective and to present the main organisational features of the PS and the PSD resorting to original data.

Secondly, party statutes and regulations constitute the principal source of data in order to assess the formal allocation of competences and power distribution. Besides, this type of resource provides insights «into a party's normative vision of its organisation and function» (Gauja and Smith: 2012: 757) and «into its internal conception of organisational power, authority and legitimacy» (Katz and Mair, 1992: 7). As for the PS, we resort to the statutes approved in 2015. However, at the time of the writing the PS was discussing the statutory revision's proposals. Whenever possible the thesis makes references to the novelties introduced by the latest statutes (2018). As for the PSD, we rely on the most recent version of the statutes (2012), although also this party is debating their revision. The statutes

¹⁵ The project's website is <https://www.politicalpartydb.org/>. In Portugal the PPDB is coordinated by Dr. Marina Costa Lobo. The 1 round of data collection concerned the following Portuguese parliamentary parties: the Democratic and Social Centre–People's Party (*Centro Democrático Social–Partido Popular* – CDS-PP), the Ecologist Party “The Greens” (*Partido Ecologista Os Verdes* – PEV), the Left Bloc (*Bloco de Esquerda* – BE), the Portuguese Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Português* – PCP), the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista* – PS), the Social Democratic Party (*Partido Social Democrata* – PSD).

are used to evaluate the changes from a diachronic perspective in both parties. However, following Panebianco (1982: 82) on the relevance of controlling the uncertainty zones, we know that the application of the formal rules may be tacitly unobserved or manipulated by the dominant coalition. As such, party constitutions are not more than «a point of departure for the organisational analysis of a political party» (*ibid.*).¹⁶ Therefore, this source is complemented with information collected from other sources, especially elite interviews, articles from the press and from an in-depth examination of secondary literature. Party constitutions have been complemented with other official documents, namely congressional motions and regulation of intra-party elections. For the oldest periods party documents digitalised by the ‘Fundação Mário Soares’, the ‘Biblioteca e Arquivo de José Pacheco Pereira’, and the ‘Instituto Francisco Sá Carneiro’ have been retrieved.¹⁷ Finally, several editions of party press published between 1974 and the end of the 1990s have been examined at the ‘Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal’.¹⁸

A third source of original data is made up of a set of thirteen face-to-face semi-structured interviews conducted, between July 2013 and November 2016, with the presidents of the PS federations and PSD district-structures, and with members of the national bodies in office. Variation in the structures’ geographical distribution and membership size has been the main criterium guiding the selection of the actors to be interviewed. The duration varies from a minimum of 25 minutes to a maximum of 1 hour and 30 minutes. The elite interviewing was needed to collect data on the internal dynamics, namely regarding the relations with the party at the national level, the actual practices in decision-making processes, and the perception about the intra-party democracy reforms. Beyond information collection, elite interviewing allowed us to evaluate discrepancies with the formal rules set in party statutes and regulations. In the Portuguese case, in fact, informal rules and practices play a significant role in internal dynamics (Lisi, 2011). The content of the interviews is presented in its English translation. The list of the interviewees is presented in Annex 1.

Last but not least, we collected and built an original dataset of intra-party elections for the leadership of the nineteen PS federations and the nineteen PSD district-level structures. We have built this dataset gathering information on 133 internal elections in the case of the PS and 133 in the case of the PSD, held between 2003 and 2017. The large

¹⁶ Panebianco identifies six “uncertainty zones”: competence, communication, relation with the environment, formal rules, financing, recruitment (1982: 79-85).

¹⁷ 1) casacomum.org; 2) ephemerajpp.com; 3) institutosacarneiro.pt

¹⁸ In particular, the PSD’s official journal, i.e. “Povo Livre”.

number of cases enabled us to analyse the elections through a quantitative approach. Building the dataset has been the most time-consuming part of the data collection phase. It has been hard to collect complete and consistent information on this internal process, due to the scarce publicity about intra-party elections at this level of party organisation. Unfortunately, the fragmented and inconsistent information gathered has hindered the analysis of the earlier contests, those held in 1998 and 2000 in the case of the PS, and those held between 1997 and 2003/2004 in the case of the PSD. To collect the data, we have drawn upon different types of sources, namely: official party press, i.e. *Acção Socialista* (PS), and *Povo Livre* (PSD), the party websites, and the territorial structures' websites.¹⁹ Beyond party sources, we have extensively examined the main national and local newspapers. This latter source has been particularly crucial for understanding the dynamics behind intra-party elections (e.g. public conflicts). Finally, our ambition is to keep the database regularly updated and to provide a source of data to be used by scholars in other analyses applying different approaches and methods.

¹⁹ Note that in several cases the party structures do not have websites, or they are either inactive or out-of-date.

Chapter III

Contemporary party organisations: Portugal in comparative perspective

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of parties' organisational features building on the Political Party Database (PPDB) and on the recent analyses using the data collected by the project (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.*, 2016). The chapter provides insights on the trends of party transformation discussed in Chapter 1 and places the Portuguese case, and namely the PS and the PSD, in comparative perspective.

To study party organisation and party change, the PPDB brings forward an approach based on “organisational dimensions”, namely structures, resources, and representative strategies, questioning the approaches based on party typologies. Accordingly, contemporary parties present too much variation to be fully assessed by single party types, limiting the understanding of the role played by party characteristics and national contingencies in shaping organisational choices and strategies (Scharrow and Webb, 2017: 15). While parties show substantial similarity regarding the organisational structure, being the wide majority of them based on the enrolment of dues-paying members, holding a congress or a convention, an executive body, and a leadership, there are significant cross-national variations in the extent of party resources, such as money, members and staff (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.*, 2016). The aforementioned organisational dimensions may be singled out in several sub-dimensions measured through indexes built with the different variables belonging to the different dimensions.²⁰ As such, this approach enables the examination and comparison of empirical variations, overcoming the limits of party typologies. However, it is worth noting that there are some parties that more than others share features associated to a specific party type and that may be somewhat clustered accordingly. This is exactly the case of the PS and the PSD which appear to fit rather well under the cartel party typology.²¹

²⁰ Examples of sub-dimensions are: 1) financial strength-weakness; 2) resource diversification-concentration; 3) state autonomy-dependence; 4) bureaucratic strength-weakness; 5) volunteer strength-weakness; 6) leadership autonomy-restriction; 7) centralisation-localisation; 8) coordination-entropy; 9) territorial concentration-dispersion. (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.*, 2016).

²¹ However, we argue that some variables could have been overestimated and need for a little recalibration. The other (cartel) parties are the Portuguese CDS; the Italian PD, the Spanish PSOE, the Belgian 'Reform Movement', the 'Democrat Humanist Centre', the 'Flemish Interest' and the Irish 'Labour', i.e. 9 out of 81 parties with valid data and 11%. (Webb, Poguntke, and Scarrow, 2017: 310-315).

Relying on the approach developed by the project, this chapter examines in comparative perspective the case of the PS and the PSD. The PPDB data illustrates important aspects of the nature of these parties and thus serves as a starting point for the analysis carried out in this thesis.

3.1 Organisational resources: money and members

This section presents in broad outline the resource dimension by focusing on “financial resources” and “membership”. Due to data unavailability for the Portuguese case it has not been possible to include in the analysis the third type of resources, i.e. the party staff.

3.1.2 Financial resources

Parties may resort to different sources of funding, members’ fees and individual donations, business contribution and public funding. Among the different types of donors, the state has assumed in recent decades a dominant role in political funding (e.g. Pierre *et al.* 2000; Scarrow, 2006; Nassmacher, 2003). Observing this change scholars have posited the transformation of parties in increasingly state-dependent organisations (e.g. Katz and Mair, 1995; Biezen and Kopecký, 2007). In this section, we examine to what extent the aforementioned sources contribute to parties’ income in the different PPDB countries, and how Portuguese parties perform comparatively. We then consider how parties spend their financial resources, namely by looking at the data on electoral expenses for the calendar year (2011).

Party income

Measuring the income of 113 parties in 2011 (calendar year), the PPDB data confirms the relevance of the state as source of financing, with an average of 57,5% of the income made up of state subsidies (table 3.1). In line with earlier findings (Biezen, 2003), the data shows that in new democracies the state plays a major role, i.e. on average 65% of party income originates from this source (Biezen and Kopecký, 2017). In old democracies the state contributes for a lower value, 54.7%, which however represents more than half of the total income, thus signalling the relevance of this source also in these polities.

The PPDB data confirms Portuguese parties’ high state dependence: on average 74% of party income comes from public funding, being this value higher than new democracies’ average. Except for the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), which seems still capable to draw most

of its income from societal revenues, the share of state subsidies for the other five parties surveyed is comprised between 66% and 93%, whereas members' dues and individual contributions are a marginal share of party income.

Table 3.1 Party income, PS and PSD compared, 2011

	Party income National head offices (118)	Party income per GDP (billion euros) (118)	Party income per registered voter (111)	Party income from state subsidies % (113)
PPDB	14,177,811	21,069	0,94	57.5
Portugal (6)	7,102,583	41,164	0,74	74.17
PSD	14,994,335	-	1,56	66
PS	11,492,326	-	1.20	80

Source: own elaboration based on PPDB (Round 1, 2011) and Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb *et al.*, (2016: 664). Figures in parentheses refer to the number of parties. Note: our mean value for the party income per registered voter in Portugal is higher than that calculated by the authors. (0.35). Number of registered voters in Portugal: 9.624.354 (2011, IDEA).

Considering the aggregate values of party income and the value per registered voter in comparative perspective, Portuguese parties are not among the wealthiest (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.*, 2016). For instance, the average income of Spanish parties is considerably higher. Nonetheless, Portuguese parties are among the wealthiest relative to the size of the national economy (i.e. the GDP), only behind the Czech and Spanish parties.

Shifting to the party-level analysis, it emerges that 80% of the PS income in 2011 came from the state, whereas this value totals 66% for the PSD. Although the PSD fits below the average, it is reasonable to assume that the PSD's share of public funding should have grown after 2011, due to the direct relation of state subsidies with the electoral results and the share of votes. As for the relation of the income with the size of the electorate, the PS and the PSD present values considerably higher in comparison to the PPDB average. The PS and PSD's incomes are also significantly higher than the national average. On these two indicators, the two parties are in line with the average values of their ideological families, the Social Democrats (PS) and the Conservatives (PSD), which reflects the systemic dominance of these party families in European party systems to date (Webb and Keith, 2017: 38).

Electoral spending

Round 1 of PPDB data collection has also gathered information on parties' electoral spending. As table 3.2. shows, in comparison, Portugal presents low values of electoral spending both in absolute terms and in relation to the size of the electorate. Portugal scores the lowest figure of spending per voter (0,09), positioning itself at the bottom of the PPDB listed countries.²² On the other hand, with reference to the size of the national economy, campaign spending per GDP is above the PPDB average.

Table 3.2 Campaign expenditure, PS and PSD compared, 2011

	Average total spending	Spending per GDP (billion euros)	Spending per registered voter
PPDB (88)	5,674,918	8,471	0,35
Portugal (6)	1,757,778	10,188	0,09
PSD	3,828,382	-	0,39
PS	4,132,885	-	0,43

Source: PPDB (Round 1, 2011) and Webb and Keith (2017: 39). Own calculation for the PS and the PSD spending per voter. Figures in parentheses refer to the number of parties. Number of registered voters in Portugal: 9.624.354 (2011, IDEIA).

As for the PS and the PSD, campaign expenditures are significantly higher than the country average, both in absolute terms and per voter, reflecting the size of the two main governing parties. Nevertheless, it appears that compared to the PSD, the PS has allocated a larger share of income in electoral campaigning. However, we find that the PS and the PSD have spent only a moderate share of their income on campaigning. This finding is in line with Webb and Keith's findings for the overall PPDB countries and may be explained due to the limits on electoral spending set by the financing regimes. At the same time, these values indicate that parties still devote an important part of their income in non-electoral expenses (e.g. party staff, infrastructures...) (Webb and Keith, 2017: 39).

²² Four countries are missing: Austria, Belgium, France and Sweden.

In conclusion, both the nature and low diversification of Portuguese parties' financial resources (and of the PS and PSD in particular) confirm their high state dependence and financial concentration in one major donor.

In Portugal public funding has been institutionalised relatively early (1977), thus enabling the recently formed parties to draw financial resources from the state since the very beginning (Biezen, 2000). Over time, political financing reforms have reduced and then abolished corporate financing and have limited private donations (de Sousa, 2004; Martins, 2011). Cyclic reforms aimed at offsetting the effects of electoral abstentionism on parties' pockets have encouraged the growth of state subsidies for parties' routine activities and electoral campaigns (Martins, 2011).²³ The characteristics of the financing regime have thus concurred to the low diversification of the financial sources from which parties draw funding increasing the relevance of public funding. Moreover, the fact that subsidies' allocation depends on the number of votes received represents an incentive for parties highly dependent on the state to adopt electoralist and vote-seeking strategies to the detriment of other functions and strategies. Clearly, cartel-behaviour may be detected, since the architects of the political financing reforms were the (ruling) parties themselves (de Sousa, 2004; Guedes, 2006).

For the analysis developed in this thesis, an important feature deals with way the resources are distributed across parties' organisational echelons. This parameter concerns the degree of "centralisation-localisation" within parties and the financial autonomy held by the sub-units. Given the state subsidies' relevance for party income compared to other sources, it is interesting to understand whether subnational structures directly receive state subsidies, i.e. whether they are highly dependent on central party's financial supply or if they hold some degree of financial autonomy. This indicator reveals important aspects of power distribution within the party organisation, especially in contexts characterised by low financial diversification and low membership size, such as Portugal. The PPDB dataset provides information on the direction of the state subsidies and the receiver of funding, according to each country's legal framework. Given that this is an aspect of the political financing regime, cross-national variations are expected.

In nine countries of the PPDB dataset is the national party the exclusive receiver of the state subsidies, whereas in the other ten also subnational levels are entitled to receive public

²³ In 2010, the Law on Party Financing established the reduction of 10% of the subsidies until the end of 2016.

funding. Together with Australia, France, Hungary, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland, Portugal fits in the former category, since state subsidies are directly assigned to the national party headquarters which decides on their distribution according to party rules.²⁴

Therefore, this characteristic of the regime financing affects lower levels' autonomy, thus creating a significant asymmetry of power relations between the national (executive body) and the local units. We return on this issue in chapter 5, discussing party financing at local level.

3.1.3 Members

Like money, members are of one the most important organisational resource for parties. They define the primary nature of parties as membership-based organisations, and serve parties in multiple ways, they provide volunteer work, financial contribution, as well as symbolic resources as legitimacy (Scarrow, 1994). Moreover, members are a key resource in intra-party battles (*ibid.*). Yet, parties are increasingly in short supply of this resource, as extensively documented by the shrinking of membership figures over time (e.g. Mair and van Biezen, 2001; Scarrow and Gezgor, 2010; Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012; Delwit, 2011; Whiteley, 2011; Kölln 2015; van Haute and Gauja, 2015). Perhaps this is the most apparent indicator of parties' organisational transformation. As observed in chapter 1, this trend has been interpreted as an indicator of the erosion of party-society linkage and therefore of parties' capacity to intermediate between the citizens and the state. Furthermore, cartel theorists have connected the decline in membership rate to the expansion of public financing and the reduced relevance of members as source of volunteers and financial donors (Katz and Mair, 1995; Biezen and Kopecký, 2014).

PPDB data shows that at the aggregate level members/electorate ratio (M/E) in the early 2010s is 3.45% confirming the low magnitude of party membership in contemporary parties (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.*, 2016: 667; Webb and Keith, 2017: 33). Aggregate data shows that Portuguese parties stand below the PPDB average, displaying a M/E ratio of nearly 3%, which is lower than other South European countries, namely Italy and Spain, and only slightly higher than Central-East European new democracies. This finding is not surprising and is in line with previous studies (Biezen, 2003; Bosco and Morlino, 2006; Lisi,

²⁴ The ten countries assigning public funding also to parties' sub-national organisations are Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

2015a). Longitudinal analyses have shown that in Portugal membership figures started to decline in the mid-1990s, reaching an average of 3.82% M/E ratio in the 2000-2008 period²⁵ (Lisi 2015: 70; Correia, 2017; Fazendeiro, 2017). Hence, at the beginning of the 2010s this pattern has neither been reversed nor arrested.²⁶

Table 3.3 Membership, PS and PSD compared, 2011

Membership as share of national electorate (M/E)	
PPDB	3.45
Portugal (6)	2.92
PSD	1.10
PS	0.85
Christian Democrats/Conservatives (27)	0.93
Social Democrats (23)	0.76

Sources: Own elaboration based on PPDB Round 1 and Webb and Keith (2017: 33). Portugal, national electorate in 2011: 9,624,354 (IDEA); PS membership 78,152 (2010); PSD membership: 106,619 (2011).

Disaggregating the M/E by party, the PS and PSD display a M/E ratio of 0.85 and 1.10 respectively. In the case of the PSD, this value is consistent with the 1.11 average of the 1975-2009 period, whereas the PS ratio seems to have further decreased in the early 2010s from the 1.10% of 1975-2009, documented by longitudinal analyses (Lisi, 2011: 82). Considering Webb and Keith's calculations (2017: 34) by party family, the two main Portuguese parties are in line with the PPDB averages, albeit with slightly higher values.

A final note regards different typologies of membership offered by parties. In this way parties may try to replace the membership decline and maintain some of the advantages of having a volunteers' base mobilised on the ground (Scarrow, 2015; Pedersen, Scarrow and van Haute, 2017). The PPDB data set shows that nearly 33% of the surveyed parties is offering some form of membership with reduced obligations. As for Portugal, only the PS envisions this form of enrolment, having the party "sympathiser" a formal status. In chapter 8, we discuss more in detail this organisational innovation.

²⁵ Note that the M/E figures for the 2000-2008 period do not include the 'Ecologist Party' (PEV), which is included in the PPDB. However, PEV is a very small party which only holds few thousand members (approximately 3,000).

²⁶ In the Portuguese case membership figures are frequently inflated due to strategic considerations, thus when dealing with this type of data a note of caution regarding their reliability is needed.

3.2 Organisational structures: basic units

Basic units are the lowest structures of parties' organisational infrastructure, they contribute to party local presence and play functions such as members' mobilisation and recruitment of local candidates. Scholars consider the number of basic units as an indicator of party's organisational strength and party's capacity to reach the largest number of members and electors (Scarrow, 2000; Gabrow, 2001; Tavits, 2013). The presence of an extensive network of local branches has been typically associated to the mass party type (Duverger, 1954; Sartori, 2005). However, recent studies show that setting-up local branches is an important strategy to sustain the electoral breakthrough of new parties (Bolleyer, 2013), and that it may improve the electoral performance of organisationally weak parties, like those emerged in Central and Eastern European countries (Tavits, 2013).

The PPDB's findings show that parties with highest coverage's ranking average are found in Austria, Germany, Ireland and the Czech Republic, which for Webb and Keith (2017) may be due to country size and institutional features, such as federal system. More in general, the results indicate that country factors, rather than party family, account more for variation (Webb and Keith, 2017).

Following Webb and Keith's approach (2017: 46), we have measured the number of basic units held by the PS and the PSD according to (1) the number of legislative seats, (2) the membership rate and (3) the number of registered electors. These three indicators assess different aspects of party territorial extensiveness: firstly, with respect to the system of political representation, secondly, with respect to the party's efforts to have a local presence for reaching the major number of electors, and thirdly with respect to the organisation and mobilisation of the grassroots as wider as possible. In other words, the lower the number of electors and members per basic unit, the higher the party territorial extensiveness.

In table 3.4 we present the result and the Portuguese averages.

Table 3.4 Number of basic units, PS and PSD compared, 2011

	Basic units per seat in lower house (92)	Number of registered electors by basic unit (93)	Number of members by basic unit (91)
PPDB mean	3.10	150,456	181
Portugal mean (5)	2.07	91,748	148
PSD (300)	2.77	32,000	355
PS (680)	9.2	14,153	115

Source: PPDB (Round 1, 2011) and Webb and Keith (2017). Own calculation for the PS and the PSD. Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of parties, and to the number of basic units for the PS and the PSD. Number of registered voters in Portugal: 9.624.354 (2011, IDEA).

Party-level data shows that while both the PS and the PSD rank high with respect to the country average, thus confirming the higher territorial extensiveness of the two main governing parties. Still, the PS and the PSD diverge. The former displays a higher level of branch offices' diffusion, thus territorial dispersion, than the PSD. Suggesting a higher degree of nationalisation of the PS compared to the PSD. Accordingly, the more extensive local presence would serve as a key asset and allow the former to reach, via local presence, a comparatively higher number of electors and members.²⁷

3.3 Leadership strength

The present section deals with the formal prerogatives held by leaders across contemporary parties and serves to assess leaders' degree of "autonomy-restriction" relative to the party organisation. Powerful leaders hold significant prerogatives and are relatively free from being accountable before the party. As stated in chapter 1, these features foster a tendency towards presidentialisation (or personalisation) of the party structures.

Based on the information present in the PPDB data set regarding party formal rules, Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.* (2016: 669) have built an "Index of Leadership Strength" (ILS), made up of 1-9 items, which enables to measure party leaders' statutory

²⁷ The difference may due to the fact that this PPDB's variable refers to the lowest units that get representation at the highest level by electing delegates. In the PSD this only regards the council-level units, whereas the sub-municipal units (parish level), which however are present only in few councils, do not elect delegates. A limitation of the quantitative analysis regards the fact that it could not respond to questions such as to what extent are local branches active or exist only "on paper used by local leaders to have some power through the election of delegates. These are informal (and rather diffuse) practices that would require a different analysis.

prerogatives.²⁸ The score of each PPDB country and the overall average are listed in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Index of Leadership Strength, selected countries, 2011

Country	Leadership Strength Index (0= none; 9= high)
Italy (1)	7
Spain (5)	5.40
Portugal (5)	5.0
Hungary (4)	4.50
Canada (5)	4.80
Belgium (9)	4.44
Ireland (4)	3.50
Norway (6)	3.50
United Kingdom (7)	3.29
Sweden (8)	3.13
Czech Republic (5)	3
Denmark (8)	3
Germany (6)	2.50
Netherlands (2)	2.50
Australia (4)	2.25
Average (79)	3.70

Source: Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb, *et al.* (2016: 669).

As the table shows, Portugal achieves one of the highest scores (5.0), following Spain (5.40) and Italy (7).²⁹ Therefore, in terms of formal prerogatives, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian party leaders are comparatively stronger and hold more autonomy than leaders in other

²⁸ The additive index is built on the following items: (1) Leader may help select deputy leader; (2) may summon party officials; (3) may summon party congress; (4) may attend party executive; (5) may attend party congress; (6) may appoint at least one member of party executive; (7) must consent to coalition agreements; (8) is designated party's 'external representative'; (9) is expressly accountable to party congress. «Each 'right' is coded 1; where the leader does not have a right, it is coded 0. Note that where a leader is not statutorily accountable to party congress it is coded 1. The index has a theoretical range running from 0 to 9, although empirically it only runs from 1 to 7» (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb *et al.*, 2016: 377).

²⁹ However, the Italian case it is only referred to one party, the centre-left *Partito Democratico* (PD).

PPDB countries, suggesting a South-European pattern in party leadership strength. Building on the Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb's index, we have shifted the analysis to the party level, comparing the PS and the PSD with the two largest (in terms of parliamentary seats) social democrats and conservatives parties by country. Thus, 35% of the sample (28 out of 79 parties) has been selected and the ILS index measured. Table 3.6 presents the results.

Table 3.6 Index of Leadership Strength, PS and PSD compared, 2011

Country	Party	Leadership Strength Index (0= none; 9= high)
Italy	PD	7
Portugal	PS	7
Spain	PP	7
Spain	PSOE	7
Hungary	<i>Fidesz</i>	6
Portugal	PSD	6
Canada	Conservative Party	5
Canada	New Democratic Party	5
Ireland	Labour Party	5
Belgium	Socialist Party	4
Czech Republic	CD	4
Denmark	Social Democrats	4
Hungary	SP	4
UK	Conservative Party	4
Australia	Liberal Party	3
Czech Republic	SDP	3
Denmark	Conservatives	3
Germany	CDU	3
Ireland	<i>Fine Gael</i>	3
Netherlands	Labour Party	3
Norway	Conservative	3
Norway	Labour Party	3
Sweden	Moderates	3
Sweden	Social Democrats	3
UK	Labour Party	3
Australia	Labor Party	2
Belgium	Christian-Democrat & Flemish	2
Germany	SDP	2

Source: PPDB (Round 1, 2011). Own calculation.

As table 3.6 shows, both the PS and the PSD score high on the index. The PS belongs to the top tiers together with the Italian *Partito Democratico* (PD) and the Spanish *Partido Popular* (PP) and *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE). The PSD follows, getting the second-best score, alongside the Hungarian *Fidesz*. Hence, the leaders of the PS and the PSD appear to be stronger than most of the leaders of social-democrat and conservative parties in the countries surveyed. Once again this seems to indicate the relevance of country factors. In our view, this finding is interesting especially in light of the fact that – as we show in the next section – both the PS and the PSD have adopted the direct election of the leader by members. As such, the leader’s position within the party is further enhanced by the selection method.

3.4 Patterns of intra-party democracy: assembly-based and plebiscitary-based IPD

In this section we rely on the PPDB data in order to explore the patterns of intra-party democracy (IPD) in decision-making processes, focusing on crucial party decisions, namely leadership and candidate selection and policy decisions, and present the case of the PS and the PSD in comparative perspective. This dimension is explored by adopting the conceptualisation of intra-party democracy developed by von dem Berge and Poguntke (2017). Accordingly, IPD has two underlying logics, i.e. the assembly-based (AIPD) and the plebiscitary-based (PIPD) which are described as follows: «AIPD is based on discussion within party bodies and assemblies [...] and it requires the temporal coincidence of discussion and decision», whereas PIPD «disconnects the process of discussion and deliberation from the actual decision which is eventually taken by the lone party member» (idem: 144).³⁰ AIPD and PIPD are not mutually exclusive, and a combination of both models can exist within the same party.

As shown in chapter 1, parties are increasingly adopting the plebiscitary form of IPD, with the purpose of expanding ordinary members’ participation in intra-party life. As mentioned, this organisational change is fuelled by different rationales, such as promoting party legitimacy and image, attract new members, as well as by strategic considerations fostered

³⁰ Note that von dem Berge and Poguntke (2017) consider three analytical components of IPD. Beyond the program and personnel selection, they consider the “organisational structure”. Given that parties’ organisational structure may be more or less inclusive but is by definition assembly-based, we have excluded this component from the analysis.

by the external competition and the internal pressures (e.g. Scarrow, Webb and Farrell, 2000; Barnea and Rahat, 2007; Cross and Katz, 2013; Ignazi, 2014). The preliminary findings of the PPDB shows that “assembly-based” procedures are the norm in most parties and that some forms of “plebiscitary-based” practices are present in nearly 55% of the sample, whereas they are completely absent in the remaining 45%, and that cross-national differences and, to a lesser extent, ideological orientations are found in the way parties apply the two variants of IPD (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb *et al.*, 2016; Bolin *et al.*, 2017).

3.4.1 Leadership selection

We begin analysing one of the most important party decisions, the choice of the party chairman. As for leadership selection, most of the parties listed in the PPDB specify in the statutes the procedures governing this process. Except for the cases for which information is missing, some parties are silent on this dimension since their organisational structure is based on collective leadership (e.g. some Greens parties).³¹ They are a minority though. Thus, the final sample includes nearly 74% of the PPDB parties (90 out of 122). Table 3.7 lists, by country, the number of parties which involve ordinary members in the leadership selection, i.e. those adopting plebiscitary IPD.

Table 3.7 Parties applying direct leadership selection, selected countries, 2011

Country	Parties coded total	Parties applying direct leadership selection
Australia	4	1
Belgium	12	8
Canada	5	5
Czech Republic	1	–
Denmark	7	1
Germany	7	–
Hungary	3	–
Ireland	4	1
Israel	5	4
Italy	1	–
Netherlands	9	5
Norway	7	–

³¹ Data on Austrian, French and Polish parties are missing, as well as most of the Italian, Czechs and Israeli parties.

Portugal	5	2
Spain	5	–
Sweden	8	–
United Kingdom	7	7
N	90	34
Percentage	-	38%

Source: PPDB (Round 1, 2011). Own elaboration. Note, however, that in more recent years other parties have moved towards the direct selection, such as the case of the Spanish PSOE.

The table shows that within the sample, the leader is directly selected by members in nearly 38% of the cases. Yet, in this value we have included those parties which weight members' vote with other internal groups' vote, and the few parties calling the members to vote in run-off contests between the two top finishers. When these “mixed” cases are excluded, the share of parties adopting fully direct election decreases to less than 34% of the sample. While members' ballot for choosing the party chairman is rather common in some countries (e.g. Canada, UK and Belgium), it is completely absent in others (e.g. Germany, Norway, and Sweden).³² This finding suggests country-factors' role in influencing the type of IPD modality, assembly or plebiscitary, adopted by parties for selecting party officials. For instance, Party Law may shape this type of decisions. This is best exemplified by the German Party Law (1967, art.9.4) which establishes that party leader is chosen by delegates to party conventions (Detterbeck and Rohlfig, 2014).

As for Portuguese parties, the direct election has been adopted only by the two main governing parties, the PS and the PSD, which thus belong to the 34% of the cases. Except for the CDS, which has experienced the direct election of the leader between 2005-2011 but it then re-established the election by the congress, the other Portuguese parties have resisted convergence (Lisi and Freire, 2014; Lisi, 2015a; Sanches and Razzuoli, 2017). In chapters 4 and 8 we discuss more in detail the shift from the assembly-based to the plebiscitary-based selection in the two parties.

Table 3.8 shows the data disaggregated by party family.

³²Although data on Austrian parties are missing, other studies show that in those parties the leader is generally selected through an assembly-based system, namely by the congress (Ennser-Jedenastik and Muller, 2014)

Table 3.8 Direct leadership selection by party family, 2011

Party Family	Parties applying direct leadership selection %
Christian Democratic/Conservatives (21)	6 (28.5%)
Social Democrats parties (19)	13 (68%)
Liberal (19)	8 (42%)
Green parties (10)	4 (40%)
Left Socialists (7)	-
Far Right parties (9)	3 (33%)
Unclassified parties (4)	1 (25%)

Source: PPDB (Round1, 2011). Own elaboration. Figures in parentheses refer to the number of parties.

The results indicate that the direct selection by members tends to be more popular among social-democratic parties, since 68% in the sample rely on this method vis-à-vis 28.5% of the centre-right and conservative parties.³³ As for the Portuguese case, this finding matters since shows the different path undertaken by the PSD from its ideological family, and the convergence towards its national competitor, the PS. Therefore, national context, party system's pressures and strategic considerations seems to matter more than ideological factors for explaining this organisational change in the PSD. At the same time, the finding may contribute to explain the internal dissent towards the direct election, which in the PSD is still a controversial issue. In Chapter 8 we deal with this aspect in more detail.

In conclusion, the findings show that “assembly-based” systems continue to be the norm for selecting party chairman across contemporary democracies. More in general, the finding is in line with longitudinal cross-country studies which highlight that there is an overestimation of the trend towards the direct leadership selection (Pilet and Cross, 2014). To date the “plebiscitary-based” leadership selection has been only introduced by a minority of parties, including the cases analysed in this thesis, the PS and the PSD.

³³ Parties for which we have data about the rules for selecting the party leader.

3.4.2 Candidate Selection

While leader selection regards the most important internal office (often coinciding with the electoral leader), Candidate Selection (CS) concerns the selection of personnel for competing in elections under the party label. As such, is one of the main functions carried out by parties, and it has been used by scholars as indicator of internal power distribution and degree of centralisation-decentralisation (e.g. Gallagher and Marsh, 1988; Scarrow, Webb and Farrell, 2000; Lundell, 2004; Hazan and Rahat, 2010).

As referred in chapter 1, there is not an unilinear trend towards the adoption of more inclusive procedures and findings are mixed. In this section we take a snapshot of the CS processes across contemporary parties in the first half of the 2010s. Only after the next rounds of PPDB data collection will it be possible to explore whether parties have moved towards more exclusive or inclusive process and which actors have benefited from the changes.

The PPDB provides information on the formal rules applied by 112 parties for selecting parliamentary candidates.³⁴ The variables concern the formal role played by a wide range of actors in the process, namely: supporters, members, sub-national and national party bodies.

In Table 3.9 PPDB parties are listed according to the actor with the main role in the process. The table has been built following Bille (2001: 366). Since the PPDB data deals with formal rules, the table may not be exhaustive, depending on the degree of informal practices through which each party carries out the process (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). The second column from the left lists the number of parties, by country, that adopt “plebiscitary-based” decisions, i.e. individual members are the final selectors. The other columns classify the parties that select their candidates resorting to an “assembly-based” procedure, which may involve the sub-national or/and the national bodies. For the sake of simplicity, we have aggregated constituency/regional/state levels under the “sub-national” label.

³⁴ Missing countries: Czech Republic. Missing parties: Danish People’s Party, the Israeli “Shas”, the Irish Sin Fein, the Polish “Law and Justice”, the Portuguese “Ecologist Party - PEV”.

Table 3.9 Candidate Selection and patterns of IPD, selected countries, 2011

	PIPD	AIPD				
Country	Members' ballot (*) veto power or party bodies' formal approval	Sub-national organs control (*) national veto & select power	National organs provide list, sub-national decides	Sub-national organs decide subject to national approval	Sub-national organs propose, national organs decide (*) leader, executive	National organs control (*) leader, executive
Australia	3*			1		
Austria				3	1	1*
Belgium	4*	2	1	1	3	1*
Canada	5					
Denmark		6			1	
France				1		1
Germany		7				
Hungary					4*	
Ireland	1	3*				1*
Israel	3					6*
Italy					2*	3*
Netherlands	1		2		1	6
Norway		7				
Poland				2	1	2*
Portugal					3*	2*
Spain				1	3	1
Sweden		8				
UK	5		1			1*
N= 112	22	33	4	9	19	25
%	19.6%	29.4%	3.6%	8%	17%	22.3%

Source: PPDB Round 1 (2011). Own elaboration.

Table 3.9 shows that full membership ballot in candidate selection is applied by nearly 20% of the parties in the sample (22 out of 112). Moreover, in some cases the national bodies

(leaders or electoral committees) may exercise veto powers over members' decisions. Membership ballot is more often applied in Westminster countries (Canada and Australia) and in the UK, but also in some Israeli and Belgian parties.

Conversely, more than 80% of the parties (n= 90) surveyed selects their MP candidates within the party bodies at different levels (columns 3-7), thus by means of "assembly-based" intra-party democracy. Of course, important variations exist for the same variable there: "national body" includes both the congress, which in the case of small parties may be open to all the members (e.g. Dutch green parties), may be the leader's inner circle (e.g. the Italian People of Freedom, some Israeli parties), or the executive body.

In nearly 30% of the sample, the sub-national organisations control the process. This pattern characterises almost all parties in Scandinavian countries and all German parties, suggesting the importance of institutional-level factors (e.g. the aforementioned German Electoral Law).

Finally, in one quarter of the sample, the CS is shared by the national and sub-national organisations, with a varying degree of influence and involvement across levels. According to some scholars, inclusiveness tends to overlap with decentralisation since it is argued that the more decentralised the decision, the larger the number of people potentially involved (Bille, 2001: 365; von dem Berge and Poguntke, 2017: 140, but see, Scarrow, 2005 for a critique).³⁵ Therefore, when the selection is undertaken at the local level it potentially involves more participants, being thus more inclusive than one undertaken at the national level.

Overall, the findings suggest that members' direct participation in candidate selection is still rather limited and most common in a few countries. Assembly-based decisions, rather than plebiscitary ones, are the norm in the majority of the parties surveyed. Therefore, the CS process is still broadly controlled by party structures and their elites, although at different levels and at different degrees.

Table 3.9 shows that in Portuguese parties the national level has a prominent role both in terms of list fulfilment and final approval.³⁶ Both the PS and the PSD statutes prescribe the sub-national levels' involvement in the process, formally as proponents of candidacies

³⁵ Building the index of assembly-based IPD (AIPD), von dem Berge and Poguntke (2017) assign the highest score (0.75) when local unit has the main role in the CS, (0.5) for the regional, and 0.25 for the national.

³⁶ Note that Portuguese electoral system is based on proportional representation (D'Hondt method) and closed-lists.

although informal practices vary, and variations are also found between sub-national units (see chapter 5). Final ratification belongs to the national deliberative bodies.

As it will be explored in further depth in the present research (chapter 8), the PS and the PSD, follows most of the PPDB parties since they both have resisted giving ordinary members voting rights in candidate selection. As such, this competence remains one of the main reasons for differences in power relations between the national party and the territorial structures.

3.4.3 Policy development

Beyond decisional procedures on personnel selection, intra-party democracy also deals with policy decisions. Yet, parties may adopt different forms of membership participation in policy development, such as direct participation, delegation, representation and consultation, thus making rather complex evaluating this process in terms of membership inclusion (Gauja, 2013). In this section we consider the case of the electoral programme and a typical instrument of plebiscitary IPD, the party referendum.

The electoral programme

The PPDB survey allows us to look at the development of one of the most relevant policy issues, the electoral programme, by the actors who are involved, according to the statutory rules. In most of PPDB parties, the drafting and approval of the electoral manifesto compete to the national bodies, which encompass different actors, from the party congress to the single leader. There is therefore large variance across parties, whose description goes beyond the scope of this chapter.³⁷ As for parties that resort to some form of plebiscitary IPD, thus assigning the final approval to ordinary members, data shows that only 16% (14 out of 88) adopt this practice, while only one party, the Belgian “Reform Movement”, opens it also to party supporters.³⁸ Overall, members’ participation is found only in some Belgian and Dutch parties, and in the German “Pirate Party”, which seems consistent with their internal participative culture and their small size as well. Furthermore, in most of the cases members’ power is shared with the national bodies. In the other cases, rank-and-file are represented in

³⁷ For descriptive findings, see Hennl and Franzmann (2017: 267–270).

³⁸ Missing countries: Austria, France, Israel and Poland.

the process via the party congress, and the role of this body may vary being only involved in the drafting or in the final enactment.

To be fair, in recent years both the PS and the PSD have tried to involve members and general supporters in the drafting stage of the electoral programme with proposals, either individually (i.e. on-line participation), or during assembly meetings at the branch level, if not in the national party congress (e.g. the PS Congress of 2016). Nevertheless, these initiatives regard informal input and seem to be more part of a narrative of openness towards civil society, which may conceal a strategy for improving party image. In both parties, in fact, policy development remains an elite-driven affair, increasingly professionalised, and in which the party congress and the activists seem to carry out the function of ritual ratification of the guide-lines.

The party referendum

Parties may also adopt intra-party ballots for deciding on policy issues, notably the internal referendum. Intra-party ballots belong, by definition, to the plebiscitary variant of IPD. Party referendum is included in the statutes of one-quarter of the PPDB parties, i.e. 26% (26 out of 99); and only in one case is the referendum open to registered supporters, i.e. the Spanish “United Left”.³⁹ Overall, the referendum is found in most of the German and Scandinavian parties, whereas in the other countries it is mainly adopted by greens and leftist parties.⁴⁰

As for the Portuguese case, party referendum is included in the statutes of both the PS and the PSD, as well as the CDS. Still, this feature is not a recent introduction linked to the wave of party democratisation, but it was already entailed the first versions of their statutes, possibly due to the influence of Scandinavian and German social-democratic in the parties’ formative phase. The presence of party referendum has thus increased the score achieved by these parties in the PIPD index, and thus their “cartelness”.⁴¹ However, this could be an overestimation induced by the approach based on the “official story”. To our best knowledge, in fact, both the PS and the PSD have used the referendum only once.⁴²

³⁹ Missing countries: Austria, France, Poland.

⁴⁰ In the Portuguese case, the referendum has been recently adopted by the Left Bloc (BE).

⁴¹ In the PIPD index (0-1) the PS and the PSD score 0.5, vis-à-vis the national average of 0.25.

⁴² In 1983, by the PS for consulting the militants on the governmental agreement, and in 2005 by the PSD-Azores’ regional structure.

Yet, there is a key difference in the way the two parties rule this instrument of direct democracy. In the PS, the power to propose a consultative referendum for auditing the members is prerogative of the secretary-general. This specificity suggests the “strategic” nature of the referendum, which may be used by the leadership to reinforce legitimacy against internal opposition. By contrast, the PSD statutes rule the referendum through an *ad hoc* article (2012, art. 66), prescribing that the ballot can only be called by the National Council, or by 1/20 of members regarding «any great political or strategic option». Depending on the deliberation of the deliberative body, the National Council, the referendum may be binding or advisory.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented important features of the Portuguese parties, namely the PS and the PSD in comparative perspective. It started off by presenting the main traits of contemporary parties in advanced representative democracies, by summarising the main findings of the PPDB data set. According to PPDB, parties have been characterised on three organisational dimensions, namely resources, structures, and representative strategies (Poguntke, Scarrow, Webb *et al.*, 2016). Once the overall characterisation was presented, we then proceeded to place both the PS and the PSD in this context. We have found that they draw most of their financial resources from one major donor, the state. Thus, they show a resource structure characterised by high financial concentration and state-dependence. These features confirm Portuguese parties’ state dependence, documented by previous studies (Martins, 2005; Biezen, 2000). However, except for the PCP, the relevance of state resources vis-à-vis societal ones characterises all the Portuguese parties surveyed, not only the PS and the PSD. Comparatively, the share of public funding for party income is higher than the PPDB average, which is rather high though. With regard to internal power distribution, such type of resource structure has important impacts since dependence on a single donor fosters centralisation and power concentration (Panebianco, 1982; Nassmacher, 2003). Furthermore, state subsidies’ allocation to the party in central office fosters the peripheral structures’ dependence on the centre.

While the two main parties are comparatively poor, they are rich relative the national economy. On the other hand, their volunteers’ base is weak, as suggested by the low

membership size. Still, they share this feature with most parties across contemporary democracies. PPDB data shows that only a small minority of parties, including the PS, has adopted a ‘multi-speed’ membership model by including sympathisers as a formal category of affiliation, which may contribute to cope with the shortage of volunteers (Scarrow, 2015).

An important aspect that emerges from the data, and that contributes to typify the PS and the PSD as ‘cartel parties’, regards the ‘leadership strength’ variable. Leaders are comparatively stronger in terms of statutory prerogatives and internal accountability, with the PS leader slightly stronger than the PSD one. Comparatively, the PS and the PSD combine leader’s powerful position with a (plebiscitary) selection method that arguably reinforces her or his autonomy from internal groups. In particular, the findings show that this combination is rather exceptional across PPDB parties, at least when the largest social-democratic and conservative parties are considered.

Some of these organisational features characterise these parties since the beginning, namely the low membership figures and the relevance of public funding, the latter being further increased by reforms introduced by the parties themselves. Likewise, leader’s central position has been reinforced by organisational reforms over time, notably the direct election by the members, embedded in a plebiscitary model of intra-party democracy (PIPD). In this respect both the PS and the PSD combine a relatively high leadership autonomy with the direct election, we found this feature to be rather rare across parties surveyed. Therefore, the picture is that of leader-centric parties with a strong anchorage on the state and weakly organised on the ground. Electoral goals and the mediatization of politics may have then also contributed to the empowerment of the leadership position, even more crucial for enhancing party cohesion in a context of weakly rooted organisation.

Chapter IV

A strataarchical model? The centre-periphery relations in the PS and the PSD. A longitudinal overview (1974-2017)

Introduction

Adopting a longitudinal perspective, this chapter examines the centre-periphery in the PS and the PSD over time. The goal is to explore the hypothesis of a convergence towards strataarchical configuration in the Portuguese case, and to identify evidences regarding the establishment of relations of mutual autonomy between the national and the local levels of party organisation (Katz and Mair, 1995; Mair, 1997; Carty, 2004). Building on the idea of strataarchy-hierarchy as a *continuum* with different configurations emerging across space and time, the chapter analyses whether under different phases the pattern of relations varies. It examines whether national leadership's efforts to strengthen control over the territorial structures, understood as the reinforcement of the hierarchical relations, emerge or are intensified in opposition, whereas autonomy, understood as strataarchy, better defines the relations when the party is in government. This argument stems from the idea that incumbency is salient in shaping internal relations and influencing party leader's leverage and stability in governing parties, especially those emerged in new democracies, such as the PS and the PSD. Outside office the national leadership would be pressured to reinforce top-down control, as well as to generate cohesion and internal support by resorting to organisational measures and resources. By contrast, incumbency makes it easier for the national leadership to generate support by means provided by the access to power and to neglect the organisation. In this second scenario, the hierarchical configuration could be loosened in favour of autonomisation.

This chapter revisits extensively the evolution of the centre-periphery relations in the PS and the PSD from 1974 onwards, focusing on the reforms and reform attempts carried out by the national leadership and singling out the institutional status and leadership changes experienced by the two parties. At the same time, given the differences of the PS and the PSD in terms of origins and formative dynamics, variations are expected. In particular, due to the PSD's less centralised origin, in this party the territorial structures should be able to retain and possibly increase their autonomy.

Building on Bolleyer's analysis (2009), we examine the main measures indicating efforts to control territorial structures' powers and resources, and thus to restrict autonomy (i.e. hierarchy). These measures may comprise: intervention on membership recruitment and fees' payment; revision of membership procedures (rights/duties); update of the membership register; closing "paper" sections; revision of the rules regarding the territorial party bodies; reform of candidate selection rules and pre-selection phase used to filter candidates; informal interference in processes; comply with rules and enact internal transparency. Measures that do not directly regard the territorial structures, but which suggest the effort to establish a more integrated organisation, vis-à-vis the looser configuration of stratararchy, are examined as well. These may include: creation of new posts and staff renewal and the establishment of collective incentives for militants.

The Socialist Party (PS)

4.1 The PS. The formative phase and Soares' leadership

The PS was founded by Mário Soares in the West Germany in 1973, building on the *Acção Socialista Portuguesa* (Portuguese Socialist Action – ASP), a political association comprising different intellectual traditions of the socialist movement. Scholars highlight that the "external" roots of the party and the personalisation of the leadership around the charismatic party founder strongly influenced the formative phase, reinforcing centralisation, internal coherence, and discipline (Stock 1985, 2005). The party structure was influenced by the Scandinavian and German social-democratic parties, based on the mass-party vertical articulation, party members encapsulated in local and sectional units and represented by the delegates elected at the national congress, the top party body (Sablosky, 2005; Stock, 2005). Between 1974 and 1975, more than 90,000 members joined the party's still incipient organisational structure.

After two years in office in the I and II constitutional governments, the PS shifted to the opposition in 1979 after having also lost the 1978 local elections and suffering a significant loss of voters in two consecutive elections. In this phase, efforts for improving the organisational building and territorial implantation were undertaken. The party executive drew up a global plan of party restructuration which indicated the efforts to build a more coherent organisation and to counteract the heterogeneity and asymmetries within the territorial organisation (i.e. hierarchy). The measures concerned several aspects, namely

infrastructure, material resources and internal coordination, and were aimed at improving the territorial apparatus, by enhancing the communication between the centre and the grassroots, through the federations and the local branches as well as the flow of regular party information, and by strengthening the horizontal linkages between the representatives of the party in public office and the party bodies at both the national and local level.

From the official documents of the National Secretariat for the Organisation (*Secretariado Nacional da Organização* – SNO) and the departments in charge of the relations with the federations the overall weakness of the structures on the ground becomes clear: local sections suffered from severe financial problems, with a very low share of members regularly paying their fees, and lacking human and material resources. Moreover, the party territorial coverage was far from complete, with inactive sections especially in the northern interior districts (e.g. Guarda, Vila Real, Viseu). The restructuration plan comprised several measures, such as the paying-off of sections' debts, the survey of the members enrolled, the renewal of the local party bodies, the holding of regular meetings, the recruitment of experts and intellectuals, and the improvement of the party implantation, notably in the rural communities by resorting to the cooperatives' network. Beyond that, the territorial organisation was characterised by coordination problems between the federations and the local sections and between the party officials and the local office-holders. In some cases, the coordination was created thanks to the initiative of some of the larger local sections, such as *Vila Nova de Gaia* and *Gondomar* in the Porto Federation, which established 'municipal coordination units' (*coordenadoras concelhias*) functioning at informal level.

In this phase, the party was weakened by factional struggles between the party founder, Soares, and the group of the ex-Secretariat (*ex-Secretariado*) for the control of the party (Stock, 1985; Gallagher, 1989). The national struggle was reflected at the local level, with lists competing for the federation executives made up in several cases of representatives of the two factions. The conflict, which eventually led Soares to resign from the leadership, was then resolved at the 4th Congress (1981), when the founder father of the PS regained the control of the party executive keeping it until 1986. Concomitantly, Soares' control over the territorial apparatus was ensured by the victory of lists supporting his leadership in most of the party federations.

The motion *Novo Rumo para o PS* ("New Path for the PS") presented by Soares at the congress set specific measures for coping with the coordination problems faced at the territorial level and for holding the territorial structures accountable. Firstly, to ensure the

coordination of the local sections with the federations, the motion proposed the creation of an *ad hoc* organ at council level (i.e. *coordenadora municipal*) that included party officials and public local office-holders. A second type of measures regarded the need for the party executive to hold the federations accountable. As such, the federations' competences were to be clearly specified and their financial autonomy enhanced. Consequently, the new statutes set the right of the federations to receive a share of the party funds annually. The distributional criteria and the amount to be transferred to each federation was set by the national committee (the permanent deliberative body). The flow of resources from the central party to the federation depended on the transfer of a share of members' fees which were collected by the local sections. The measure was aimed at enforcing the control over the local branches relative the number of members they declared, which enabled them to get delegates at the party bodies. Third, Soares defended that the federation secretaries' position (*secretários coordenadores*) within the federation secretariat was to be reinforced. As such, this party official headed the executive body holding enforced voting rights over the rest of the executive board. In addition, the status enabled the secretaries to take part to the national committee as *ex-officio*, and to represent the federations at the meetings of the national political committee.

In this phase, the party leader controlled the relations with the territorial structures by means of direct linkages between the restricted executive body and the federations' coordinating body (*Organismo Coordenador das Federações*) (Stock, 1985; Lisi, 2009). The hierarchic modality set up in this initial phase responded to the need of ensuring the party's cohesive action across the country and hampering the emergence of centrifugal tendencies. At the same time, it was shaped by the personalised leadership embodied by Soares. Concomitantly, the plan of reforms envisaged measures aimed at reinforcing the intermediate leadership in order to ensure control over the local structures.

4.2 The second half of the 1980s. Loosening hierarchy

After a brief period in government with the PSD under the *Bloco Central* (Central Bloc) coalition (1983-1985), the PS returned to opposition which was followed by the election of Soares as President of the Republic in 1986.⁴³ The second half of the 1980s inaugurated the

⁴³ The "Central Bloc" was formed to face the economic crisis and the second intervention of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In 1985, Portugal signed the Treaty of Accession to the European Community.

long phase of dominance of the PSD in both national and local power (Frain, 1996), while the PS had suffered an electoral erosion after the 1985 legislative elections, triggered by the (ephemeral) emergence of the Partido Renovador Democrático (PRD).⁴⁴

The leadership change was characterised by internal strains concluded with the election of Vítor Constâncio as Secretary-General at the 6th Congress (1986). Constâncio succeeded the charismatic leadership of Soares after factional struggles, thus the consolidation of his internal power was the new leader priority. To this aim, the generation of internal incentives was crucial. The new leader defended the revision of the party functioning, the adoption of a more collegial decisional system and the improvement of the federations' competences.⁴⁵ The reforms were followed by the revision of the party statutes in 1988.

This phase is characterised by the adoption of measures aimed at loosening the hierarchic relations experienced during the party's formative phase under Soares' leadership. Organisational measures aimed at adjusting the territorial infrastructure were undertaken. The lowest local units, the (*nucleus*) were extinguished and incorporated into the sections (*secções*).⁴⁶ A new organ at the council level, the *comissão política concelhia*, – (CPC) (council-level political committee) was created. The new body was coordinated by a secretariat, with executive functions, and by a secretary-coordinator and was elected directly by the members.

The creation of the council bodies represented a response to the intra-party coordination problems experienced at the territorial level since the formative phase and was primarily oriented towards the improvement of the party electoral performance in local power. Indeed, this reform enhanced the role of the structures in local power assigning to the council-level political committee competences in coordinating the local office-holders and managing the candidate selection for the local elections. Since then, these functions assumed a key relevance for the party activity at local level, to the detriment of members' mobilisation and internal participation (Lisi, 2009).

⁴⁴ The PRD's emergence was backed by the then PR, R. Eanes. It opposed the austerity policies carried out by the Central Bloc, being able to elect 45 MPs in the 1985 legislative elections, to the detriment of the PS. Still, only two years after the PRD elected only 7 MPs.

⁴⁵ "Acção Socialista" n° 395, 1986.

⁴⁶ Initially at the local level the PS was based on two types of sub-units: the nucleus (*núcleo*), the lowest basic structure, and the section (*secção*). The minimum number of members required to form a unit has frequently changed, reflecting the ongoing process of party institutionalization. In 1974 a minimum of 5 to a maximum of 20 members for the nucleus, from 9 to 500 members for the sections. In 1981, 5 to 50 members for the nucleus while more than 50 for the sections. In 1984, 15 to 99 members (nucleus), at least 100 members (sections). Finally, in 1986 the nuclei were extinguished.

In this phase, the supervision of the party activity at the local level was delegated to the federations. As for the intermediate level, the reform established the formal involvement of the federations in the selection of parliamentary candidates, by enabling these structures to submit their list to the National Political Committee, the body in charge of approving the final lists, and to eventually appeal before the National Committee in case of adverse decisions. The measure attenuated the concentration of power at the national level in this key function indicating a shift towards a more autonomous role of the federations. At the same time, the vertical relations were improved through the institutionalisation of regular meetings between the party executive, the National Secretariat, with the federation secretaries, and between the latter and the local secretariats. Hence, the (partial) autonomy is provided in a context of coordination where the national party supervises the lower levels.

Alongside the reorganisation of the territorial structures, other internal measures providing symbolic incentives were adopted. The collegial system of decision-making was improved by the extension of the national bodies' boards (e.g. the national committee) and the reinforcement of the representation of the affiliated organisations, namely the Socialist Youth (*Juventude Socialista* – JS). In addition, a campaign for recruitment of new members was launched following the cleaning of the membership registers which led to a decrease of nearly 35,000 members, from 124,611 to 80,717 (Coelho, 2012: 105).

The organisational reforms undertaken by the PS in this opposition phase had two main objectives. The first was the improvement of the party image among voters as a viable alternative to the PSD. The reorganisation of the territorial structures, with the improvement of the electoral-oriented functions and the attachment of powers and autonomy, belonged precisely to this strategy. The second regarded the consolidation of the new leader's position within the party and the enhancement of internal support (Frain, 1996: 998).

4.3 The organisational reforms in the 1990s and Guterres' leadership

After the second absolute majority won by the PSD in the 1991 elections, the party leadership was contested during the 10th congress (1992). The incumbent leader and Mayor of Lisbon, Jorge Sampaio, who had been elected leader after the resignation of Constâncio, was challenged by António Guterres, member of the former national secretariat.⁴⁷ Sampaio's proposal appealed to the grassroots and supporters by defending the direct

⁴⁷ Guterres had been in charge of the National Secretariat's department for the Organisation under Constâncio. According to Cunha (2013), that experience gave Guterres a deep knowledge of the party apparatus which was crucial for his ascendancy to party leadership.

election of the national and federation bodies by the members, and primaries open to non-members for the selection of candidates to the national and local public offices.⁴⁸ The incumbent leader bound his leadership bid to the condition of this radical proposal being approved by the congress.

By contrast, Guterres postponed the statutory revision by proposing it to occur in the context of a national convention held for the purpose. However, his candidacy's motion already advanced the chief points of his strategy for the territorial structures. The first goal was to revitalise the linkages between the national party and the federations, namely through the National Secretariat's department for the Organisation, and through the Council of the federations' coordinators (*Conselho de Coordenadores das Federações*). Secondly, Guterres defended the establishment of regular meetings aimed at circulating information, coordinating common actions, and adapting the party strategy to the different local specificities. To these aims, the autonomy and competences of the structures were to be strengthened through providing their leaders with more powers. In Guterres' words: «we will strengthen the power and the autonomy of the regional, district and local structures, setting the conditions for a real leading role of their leaders».⁴⁹

Beyond organisational issues, Sampaio and Guterres diverged in terms of electoral strategy. In contrast to Sampaio's more left-wing stance, Guterres advocated a more electoralist orientation and the shift of the party towards the centre for appealing to the moderate-floating electorate. The rejection of the Sampaio' proposal by the congress forced the incumbent to step down and paved the way for Guterres' election.⁵⁰

The statutory reform carried out by Guterres radically transformed the party organisation, at both the national and the federation level, and attempted to improve the leader-membership linkage by revitalising members' participation (Biezen, 2003: 71). Accordingly, the ordinary members elected the national committee which in turn elected the other national bodies: namely, the Secretary-General, the Political Committee, the Party President, and the Jurisdictional and Financial Committees. On proposal of the secretary-

⁴⁸ Sampaio's motion «Reformar com coragem. Diectas já. O PS aos militantes» (Reforming with courage. Direct elections now. The PS to the militants). The national bodies to be directly elected were, the president, which substituted the secretary-general, and the National Committee; at the federation level: the federations secretaries and the federations' political committees. "Acção Socialista", 23/1/1992, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Guterres: «Vamos reforçar os poderes e a autonomia das estruturas regionais, distritais e concelhias dando condições por um verdadeiro protagonismo político dos seus dirigentes». Guterres' motion: «Mudar para ganhar. A vontade de transformar» (Change to win. The willingness to transform). "Acção Socialista", 23/1/1992, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Guterres contested the leadership with a minor candidate, A. Beleza, and won with nearly 82,5% of the votes. "Acção Socialista", n°681, 27-2-1992, p.4-8.

general the Political Committee elected the National Secretariat, the executive body. On the other hand, the Congress was extinguished and replaced by a Convention, made up of *ex-officio* members in charge of party and public offices.⁵¹ The delegates elected by the local branches only took part in the Convention to vote on alterations to the party statutes and principles. Concomitantly, the limit to the size of the Secretariat was abolished, and the number of members of both the National Committee and the National Political Committee expanded. The reform, which served to distribute incentives to the careerists, reduced the efficiency of the Secretariat and fostered the power concentration in the leader and the restricted executive body (i.e. the Permanent Committee) (Lisi, 2006).

The new national format and the members' voting rights were replicated at the federation level. Thus, the congresses were replaced by the conventions of *ex-officio* members.⁵² The members directly elected the political committee, which elected the federation president and, on the latter's proposal, the secretariat. The erstwhile "coordinating secretary" (*Secretário-Coordenador da Federação*) was replaced by the "federation president" (*Presidente da Federação*) as one-person office, holding the political coordination of the party activities at the local level, and with the right to take part as full member (i.e. voting rights) to the lower level's meetings. The reform reinforced the federation leaders, whose position of leadership over the structure was strengthened, setting the basis for a leader-centered functioning of the territorial structures. Likewise, the local leaders' position and legitimacy were enhanced through the introduction of the "president of the local political committee" (*Presidente da Comissão Política Concelhia*) as a unipersonal body.⁵³

The new status of the federation presidents was accompanied by the reform of the candidate selection process. The reform specified the power-sharing between the national and the federation level. Accordingly, the national political committee fulfilled 30% of the seats and decided the position, while the rest of the list was kept by the federation. The reform reduced the discretionary powers exercised by the national executive over the lists, specifying the federations' competences between the national and the intermediate structures

⁵¹ *Ex-officio*: the members of the other national bodies, the members of the parliamentary party group at national, European and regional level, the federation presidents, the federation secretariats and the local party and public officials, at least 40 members of the youth organisation (JS) and members of the sectorial and of the women organisations (art. 59, 1992).

⁵² *Ex-officio* members: the presidents of the *concelhias*, the local and sectorial sections' secretaries, the executive members of the youth organisation, the local public office holders, and the members of the national bodies and MPs enrolled in the federation.

⁵³ Interview with MP, Miguel Coelho, former leader of the PS Lisbon's council structure.

in this key function. However, the decentralisation of a share of decision-power was counter-weighted by the powers retained by the national level in the pre-selective stage and in the final approval of the lists.

As such, in this phase powers from the national level to the peripheral structures were transferred. This shift was accompanied by the reinforcement of the individual actors leading the territorial structures. Therefore, the decentralisation from the centre to the periphery occurs alongside the new legitimacy and autonomy achieved by the territorial leaders, which are the main actors benefited by the reforms. As the following section will show, the role acquired by the federation leaders in the network set up by Guterres indicates that the reforms taking place in this phase, and the autonomy achieved in some party functions, was functional to the control and mobilisation of the apparatus in support of the government and, thus, on behalf of the national leadership.

4.4 The PS in government. The reform of the secretary-general's and the federation presidents' selection

The election of Guterres at the congress represented a turning point in the party's programmatic orientation. Influenced by the "third way" inaugurated by the Blair's *New Labour*, Guterres moved the party positions towards the centre (Lobo and Magalhães, 2004). The preparation of the electoral program for the legislatures of 1995 was drawn up with the involvement of societal sectors and envisioned a wide plan of state modernisation, openness and transparency.⁵⁴ The PS won the legislative elections, obtaining its best electoral result so far (nearly 44%) and only four seats from winning the absolute majority (*idem*).

The principles of the electoral program were applied to the party internal functioning and mechanisms. The party's openness to society was emphasised through the creation of "working groups" opened to independents and sympathisers, together with the efforts to counteract mechanisms of closeness for the control of power positions within the party, especially in the functioning of the party at the local level. Hence, there is in this phase a step forward towards the loosening of the party's organisational boundaries.

During the first governmental term (1995-1999), the party organisational model set up in 1992 was reviewed. The wide criticism regarding the convention system made up of ex-

⁵⁴ PS, Electoral Program, 1995, «Estados Gerais para uma nova maioria» (Estados Gerais for a new majority).

officio members to the detriment of the elective delegates, coupled with the failed attempt to enhance the members' mobilisation, led in 1998 to a statutory revision (Biezen, 2003; Lisi, 2009). The congress was reintroduced but without regaining the powers of electing the secretary-general. In fact, the leader became henceforth elected directly by the members. This momentous innovation was aimed at democratising the party functioning by giving the members a direct say in a key decisional process. As such, the reform changed the power balance making the party formally more inclusive, whereas it withdrew influence capacity from the structures on the ground by ending the congressional delegates' role in electing the leader. The flow of powers from the middle-level elites (organised membership) to the individual member (atomised) increased leader's legitimacy and autonomy within the organisation (Lisi, 2009). In chapter 8 we discuss this aspect more in detail drawing upon the elite interviews.

Likewise, at the territorial level the federation presidents were elected directly by the members. Hence, the reform had similar effects of empowerment of the territorial leaders' autonomy and legitimacy within the territorial organisation, fostering the reproduction of leader-centric features at the local level. The relevance acquired by those actors during this phase enhanced their role in the management of the relations with the national leadership.

It is worth stressing that the federation presidents' empowerment was the result of the national leadership's strategy, not the "struggle" of the party's periphery against the centre for more autonomy. In fact, Guterres included most of the federation presidents in the main national bodies, such as the secretariat and the political committee, therefore they belonged to the dominant coalition (Lisi, 2009). This position fostered the establishment of personal linkages with the national leader. This aspect, coupled with the empowerment within the territorial strictures provided by the direct election, set the conditions for them to assume a key role in the intra-party relations.

Party governmentalisation characterised the Guterres' administrations whereby several members of the government occupied positions in the party executive body (Lisi, 2009). This process, together with the practice of appointing independents in ministerial offices, reinforced the power concentration in the prime minister and party leader (Lobo, 2005b; Lisi, 2009). On the other hand, the deliberative bodies were demobilised and their influence capacity significantly reduced, since the party's decisional centre was concentrated in the party in government. Although internal dissatisfaction, due to the difficulties in influencing the government did arise, no significant conflicts emerged in this phase,

confirming the powerful role of incumbency in fostering party cohesion and avoiding public conflicts to emerge (Canas, 2005: 19-20; Lobo, 2005b; Lopes, 2005; Lisi, 2009: 143).

The management of the territorial organisation was carried out by the party leader through an informal network of actors, comprising the federation presidents, the secretary for the organisation and the coordinator of the permanent committee (Lisi, 2009: 143). All those actors were connected through a system of regular meetings and contacts functioning in the context of the “council of the federation presidents” (*idem*).⁵⁵ The federation presidents were in charge of mobilising the structures in support of the government and aggregating the consensus on the ground. As such, as observed by Lisi (2009), the pattern of relations resembled the stratarchical configuration or the franchise-model as predicted by Carty (2004). There is not tight hierarchical control and direction from above, but rather the leadership resorts to loyal and empowered actors which ensure the mobilisation on the ground of the party apparatus in favour of the government. The national leadership leads the party in government and the policies autonomously from the organisation. On the other hand, the autonomy of the local level seems more to reward the elites of the peripheral structures’ elites rather than the local organisations as collective entities. In fact, the model is based more on personal rather than organisational ties in a context of hollowing out of the organisation and its collective bodies, and high room of maneuver of the party leader for managing the party in office.

4.5 Strengthening top-down control. The opposition years and Ferro Rodrigues’ leadership

The second socialist government (1999-2001) ended early with Guterres’ resignation after the party’s defeat in the local elections (December 2001). The President of the Republic, Jorge Sampaio, dissolved the Parliament and called for fresh elections (March 2002). The electoral campaign was led by the new Secretary-General, Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues, member of the former party executive and minister in the outgoing government, elected (without competition) after the Guterres’ resignation from the leadership. The elections brought the PSD back to government in a coalition with the right-wing CDS-PP as junior partner.

⁵⁵ The erstwhile Council of the Federation Coordinators.

The new leadership carried out important organisational reforms. Two wide goals were set, firstly, the renovation of the party's leading bodies, and secondly, the party modernisation through efforts to open the party to civil society.⁵⁶ The statutory revision was preceded by the update of the members' register, which had been carried out last time in 1986. The update could be identified as an indicator of central efforts to tighten the control over the peripheral structures. The goal was in fact to clear out those cases of local structures holding an inflated number of members, which enabled them to get over-representation in the party's bodies.⁵⁷ The local control of the membership recruitment allowed local leaders (i.e. *caciques*) to control pockets of votes for allotting posts in the party bodies and increasing the influence in local power (Lopes, 2005: 367-368). Furthermore, those practices fostered the local structures' closeness and strategically hampered the internal renovation functioning as entry barriers to potential challengers. A measure dealing with the affiliation system was the attempt to centralise the collection of the member's fees. The fees, so far collected by the sections, were to be paid directly to the party central office, which would have then transferred the funds to the local units. The then party spokesperson explained the measure due to the accountability requirements demanded by the new legislation on party funding and with internal transparency.⁵⁸ At the same time, such type of measure implied the establishment of a more effective hierarchical control. In fact, the measure triggered conflicts between the party leadership and the local structures, with the latter being backed by the federation presidents. This prevented the full institutionalisation of the measure, which was withdrawn by the national committee, and the payment of the fees at the local level reestablished (Lopes, 2005; Lisi, 2006). This was achieved thanks to the pressures of powerful federations which wanted to counteract the centralising efforts carried out by the new leader (Lopes, 2005: 367-368).

This episode of conflict is indicative of two aspects: firstly, the strategic importance for the local units to exercise control over the affiliations, and secondly the perception that the issue belonged to an area of domain where the national leadership could not impose authoritative decisions without facing resistance, especially in a context of opposition status and with a leadership which is still consolidating its power internally.

Other aspects dealing with the territorial organisation were reformed. In particular, two measures were aimed at constraining the federation presidents' power,

⁵⁶ Ferro Rodrigues' motion at the Congress: "Fazer bem pelo futuro" (Doing well for the future).

⁵⁷ "Público" online: «Convenção. Ferro Rodrigues admite processo de refiliação após as eleições», 13/1/2002.

⁵⁸ Paulo Pedroso, "Acção Socialista", n° 1183, 2003.

increased during the Guterres' leadership (Lopes, 2005; Lisi, 2009). As it will be discussed more in detail in chapter 6, the new statutes introduced the term limit for the federation president's office and forbade the office accumulation with mandates in other executive party bodies. The aim was to push the renovation of the leading bodies and the elites' circulation, while it attempted to hamper the expansion of the federation leaders' autonomy and influence capacity at the national level.

The reform of the national bodies indicated the effort to foster the central control over the party by extinguishing the permanent committee and resorting the secretariat as the highest executive body with its size considerably reduced (from 48 to 11) (Lisi, 2011: 149). Other measures pointed towards the renovation, such as the reduction of the *ex-officio* component of both the national and federation congresses and the introduction of a gender quota for the lists to the party bodies (at least 1/3 women).

The second goal of the new directorate was aimed at enhancing the party-society linkage by introducing incentives for the involvement of passive members and draw supporters closer to the party. This was best exemplified by the introduction of a new form of affiliation, the "sympathizer", and the introduction of informal groups for incentivising non-members to participate. At the same time, they were part of a marketing strategy for improving the unpopular image of the party after the electoral defeat and the return to opposition after the long period of incumbency. From an organisational perspective, this type of measures indicates the loosening of the organisational boundaries and the blurring of the distinction between members and supporters, identified as an organisational feature of the cartel parties (Katz and Mair, 1995). However, no substantive powers were actually attached to the grassroots and sympathisers through these measures. Furthermore, the re-organisation of the party coincided with the emergence of a scandal directly involving prominent members, with the result of affecting the implementation of the innovations.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Jurisdictional investigation named "Casa Pia".

4.6 The PS in government. The leader's autonomisation from the party under José Sócrates

The leadership change was then triggered by the political developments within the centre-right government, and namely by the decision of the President of the Republic, Jorge Sampaio, not to dissolve the Parliament, causing Ferro Rodrigues' resignation.⁶⁰

For the first time the direct elections for the leadership were contested, with the race receiving an extensive media coverage. Three candidates ran: José Sócrates, Manuel Alegre and João Soares. Sócrates, Minister of the former socialist government and member of the outgoing party executive, who relied on wide internal support. Conversely, Alegre and Soares tried to appeal to the apathetic members by criticising the territorial elites' grip on the party structures (Lisi, 2009: 155).

Sócrates, who in the event was elected secretary-general by a large margin, endorsed a program of party modernisation and openness to civil society, *Novas Fronteiras* (New Frontiers), which was influenced by Guterres' *Estados Gerais*. Initially aimed at involving civil society participation in the elaboration of the electoral program, the New Frontiers served as a "platform" for presenting the governmental policies. A few months later the PS won its first absolute majority in the early elections of February 2005 (Freire and Lobo, 2006). In this phase, the main features of the intra-party relations, experienced under the Guterres' governments, reemerged. Beyond the overlap between the prime ministerial and party leadership offices, the party executive was governmentalised (Lobo, 2005b; Lopes, 2005; Lisi, 2009: 134). The deliberative bodies were hollowed out, with the congressional meetings playing a "cheerleading" role, and internal criticism was almost absent.⁶¹ As mentioned, the policies carried out by the government were presented "outside" the traditional organisational boundaries in the context of the New Frontiers' platform. The relations with the party organisation were managed by the permanent committee, made up of the members of the national secretariat outside the government. This body was initially led by Jorge Coelho and then headed by Sócrates himself, to be then dissolved on the latter's proposal.⁶²

⁶⁰ The Prime Minister, Durão Barroso, had been nominated President of the European Commission. Pedro Santana Lopes, vice-president of the PSD, was nominated PM in substitution of Barroso by the PR Sampaio.

⁶¹ For instance, "Público" online titled: "15th Congresso do Partido Socialista: PS: Partido Sócrates", 9, 2006. Ana Gomes was among the few voices of dissent.

⁶² Sócrates' motion: "O Rumo do PS: Modernizar Portugal" (The path of the PS: Modernising Portugal), 15th Congress (2006).

In this phase leader's autonomy and power were very high, as demonstrated by the Sócrates' opposition to the proposals of appointing a deputy secretary-general in charge of the organisation, and thus refusing to separate the governmental functions from the party ones.⁶³ The autonomy achieved by the leader is apparent in the capacity to impose decisions regarding the candidate selection processes, such as the (unexpected) prohibition of the "simultaneous candidacy" for the 2009 elections, i.e. the practice of MP candidates running also for the mayoral office (both elections were scheduled in 2009). The unnegotiated decision affected directly several members who had already announced their mayoral candidacy and that relied on the MP office as a fallback strategy in case of being defeated at the local elections.⁶⁴ Likewise, the leadership personalisation is a defining feature of this phase, with strong emphasis on the leader in the electoral campaigns' strategy.⁶⁵

The pattern of relations built with the territorial structures seemed to follow the network-model experimented during the Guterres' administrations, built through personal linkages involving the party leader, the permanent committee's coordinator, the national secretary for the organisation and the federation presidents, in charge of activating the structures on the ground in support of the government (Lisi, 2009: 143).⁶⁶ Nevertheless, this model seemed not to work regularly, especially after Coelho's resignation from the permanent committee, and the extinction of the body. These developments apparently loosened the linkages of the government with the territorial structures, as well as with the federation presidents who complained about the absence of regular meetings with the leader. To enhance the government-party relations, the transmission of informative notes to communicate to MPs and local branches the visit of members of the government to a district were then established.⁶⁷ The establishment of these practices, however, indicates the disregard of the territorial organisation, and its instrumental mobilisation for showing support towards the government.

In March 2011, Sócrates was re-selected leader for a fourth term in office. However, the term lasted only a few months as the political crisis due to the failed attempt of the socialist

⁶³ Sócrates' declaration to the press presenting his motion to the 2006 Congress: «There could not be a PS inside the government and a PS outside the government».

⁶⁴ The decision to prohibit the double candidacy had been already announced by the PSD. This fact could have influenced the subsequent decision of Sócrates.

⁶⁵ "Público" online: «Sócrates é o one-man show do primeiro site da campanha», 3/3/2009.

⁶⁶ For instance, the MP R. Sampaio (PS-Porto), very close to Sócrates, as well as F. Serrasqueiro (PS-Castelo Branco) and A. Simões (PS-Vila Real) who were then included in the National Secretariat.

⁶⁷ Interview with the PS-Aveiro federation president, MP Pedro Nuno Santos, 2013.

government to approve the forth austerity package (PEC IV) provoked the prime-minister's resignation and Parliament's dissolution. The resounding defeat of the PS at the early elections was then followed by the leader's resignation.

4.7 Back in opposition. Seguro's attempts of reinvigorating the organisation and the rise of internal conflicts

The leadership was contested by Francisco Assis, member of the outgoing party executive and former parliamentary leader, and António José Seguro, minister under the Guterres' administration, who held large support within the territorial structures. As will be shown in chapter 8, this leadership campaign was focused on intra-party democracy reforms and party's openness towards society.

Seguro's win represented a change in the dominant coalition leading the PS. The reform efforts of the new leadership aimed at reinvigorating the party now in opposition, with the organisation hollowed out during the years in office. To this aim, regular meetings of the national bodies were reintroduced and for the first time they were held in different districts rather than just in Lisbon. After a six-months debate new statutes were approved and important measures for the intra-party relations at both the horizontal and vertical level were introduced. Firstly, a new party office, the deputy secretary-general (*Secretário-Geral Adjunto*), in charge of supervising and coordinating the organisation when the party was incumbent, was created. The measure aimed at counteracting the problems that emerged during Guterres and, above all, Sócrates' administrations with the hollowing out of the organisation. Secondly, the terms' length of the national and federation bodies were extended to 4 years to coincide with the national legislature.⁶⁸ The measure aimed at enhancing party cohesion and avoiding the emergence of internal disputes in the middle of a legislative term. To enhance the horizontal coordination between the party in central and public office, the parliamentary group's leader was included as *ex-officio* member in the party executive. At the same time, such measures enhanced the central control over the parliamentary party, which in the PS (and PSD) is *de facto* subordinated to the party executive (Lobo, 2003).

Other measures provided participative incentives to the ordinary members, through the attachment of voting rights in the candidate selection for both the national and local

⁶⁸ "Público", «Seguro quer sincronizar mandatos internos do PS com os ciclos eleitorais», 23/3/2012, p. 16.

public offices, whose implementation is analysed in detail in chapter 8. As for the internal electoral processes, stricter provisions were adopted by the new directorate. The reforms potentially affected local structures' autonomy in the management of these processes and tightened the central control. The seniority requirement for exercising voting rights was extended from 6 to 12 months. The final deadline for the member to pay the membership fees, and thus to be entitled to vote, was set until thirty days before the electoral act. The new provision allowed the blocking of the electoral registers and thus enabled the national party to know in advance the size of the electorate. Other measures regarded the affiliation process by imposing a minimum staying period. More generally, these measures aimed at enhancing internal transparency targeting local practices such as the mass payment of members' dues or the strategic transfer of members from a structure to another.⁶⁹ In addition, the reform established organisational incentives, by rewarding with one additional delegate the local structures in case of successful electoral performance of the party in their area. Hence, for the first time the party introduced an additional criterium, beyond the membership ratio, to allocate party posts.

Seguro's decision-making system was based on a formal network of advisors, both partisans and independents, with expertise in different policy areas and with a strong emphasis on collegiality. The system was an attempt to approximate the party to society and to improve the policy development by relying on external actors. The national secretariat's department in charge of the organisation was initially divided in two sectors coordinated by two secretaries. However, the system complicated the coherence of the internal processes and was then reversed.

Since 2012, criticism from members close to the Lisbon Mayor, António Costa, targeted the leadership's opposition strategy against the PSD/CDS-PP government, for being too weak.⁷⁰ Still, the upcoming local elections pushed the two parts to postpone a full-blown

⁶⁹ Interview with the National Secretary in charge of the Organisation and MP, Miguel Laranjeiro (2014): «Other little measures, whose goals were transparency and rigour, were the obligation for new members to present, beyond the document for applying, the copy of the identity card and the certificate of residence in order to testify that he or she lived there. Before, it was not necessary, the candidate only needed the application document and two members as proponents. It seems to be a little change and for some citizens it does not matter, but it matters... There have been public cases of twenty members having the same residence. We also did another thing, we ask for the certificate of residence for cases in which some problem was detected and we argued that the residence would have been testified. When it was not testified, the members were kept in a suspended record. It is a detail for explaining that all the measures were undertaken with the purposes of clarity, transparency and rigour».

⁷⁰ «Público»: «Direcção do PS exige apoio a Seguro, críticos defendem mais combate a Cavaco e juízes», 24/3/2012. It is worth noting that, in this phase, a large part of the PS parliamentary group comprised MPs selected under the former leadership.

confrontation and the incumbent leader to negotiate with the *costista* personalised “faction”. Dissatisfaction reemerged after the European elections of 2014, exacerbated by the PS’s weak performance in the opinion polls.

The territorial structures entered the conflict by playing an active role in the whole phase of leadership instability, with some of them publicly endorsing Costa and with some federations even approving motions requiring an extraordinary congress.⁷¹ The conflict was then moved forward by Seguro who threw down the gauntlet by proposing open primaries to select the prime ministerial candidate in the 2015 elections.⁷² The elections for the federations, held immediately before the primaries, reflected the national conflict and the support the two challengers could count on within the territorial apparatus. These developments are discussed more in detail in chapters 6 and 8.

Costa’s victory in these primaries paved the way for his selection as Secretary-General in December 2014. The change was followed by the approval of new statutes that revised most of the Seguro’s innovations, namely those related with the internal processes, loosening the rules.⁷³ At the same time, the elective component of the national secretariat was extended (from 11 to 16) to include members linked to the former leader and thus to reinforce internal unity. In the 2015 elections the new leader managed to bring the PS back to government, thanks to the negotiation of an unprecedented agreement by the PS with the radical left parties, i.e. BE, PCP and PEV, who supported in parliament Costa’s minority cabinet (De Giorgi and Santana-Pereira, 2016; Lisi, 2016).

The goal of the new directive was to keep the party active by separating the party in government and the parliamentary group from the organisation.⁷⁴ To this aim, substantial powers to manage the organisation were assigned to the deputy secretary-general, supported by the permanent committee, made up of members without governmental offices. In this regard, a different approach seems to be adopted by the new leadership, compared to the former experiences of the PS in government.

⁷¹ “Público” online: «Aparelho socialista afasta-se de Seguro. Distrital a distrital», 7/6/2014.

⁷² “Público”: «Eleições primárias foram a surpresa na ‘batalha de Vimeiro» 1/6/2014, 4-9.

⁷³ Costa re-established the six-months seniority and extended the deadline from thirty to fifteen days before the internal contest.

⁷⁴ Party website: «Um partido para além do governo». Ana Catarina Mendes, Deputy Secretary-General, 7/6/2016.

Furthermore, Costa's motion presented at the 2016 Congress clearly envisioned for the party a network-model articulation, open to society, with changes in the system based on dues-paying membership and territorially structures.⁷⁵

Summary

The previous sections have examined the PS under different phases. Different patterns of relation have been detected. During the party's formative years hierarchy was the dominant pattern and the national leadership controlled the main decisional processes and the vertical organisational ties. During the party development's phase this configuration responded to the need of ensuring a homogenous action across the country and to avoid the high risk of fragmentation. Reforms aimed at holding the territorial structures fully accountable and at reinforcing the federations' competences in the supervision and coordination of the local sections were enacted by Soares after his return to leadership.

This pattern started to change in the second half of the 1980s when the party was experiencing a long period in opposition and electoral erosion across the country. The measures adopted in this phase by Constâncio's directorate attenuated power concentration in the national level by attaching formal powers to the federations in MPs candidate selection. Furthermore, the local structures' organisation was revised to enhance the vertical and horizontal linkages to improve party performance in local power by introducing a coordinating body at council level. However, the devolution of power in this phase was undertaken by the leadership's initiative and responded to the organisational necessity of improving the electoral implantation in a difficult phase and fostering internal cohesion.

In the early 1990s, under Guterres' leadership the PS undertook a new course moving ideologically towards the centre and emphasising the openness towards civil society. During the years in government (1995-2001), the reform of the leadership selection increased the secretary-general's autonomy from the structures' influence due to the direct election by

⁷⁵ «Instead of a hierarchic party model, closed in its directorate, we want a model of network organization open to participation and in permanent contact with society [...] An openness less centred in the party bodies, and more in the activities; less led by the party structures and more made in the participative forum [...]. There is space for renewal: we will propose to the National Committee to start a process of renewal of the party structures and of the model of linkages with the party. Traditional models of linkages, based on the financial contribution, as the dues-payment, and the exercise of party offices, produce well-known perverse effects, which are important to challenge» (Costa: "Cumprir a Alternativa, Consolidar a Esperança" (Accomplish the alternative, consolidate the hope (2016: 29-30).

members. This system was replicated at the federation level and fostered the autonomy and legitimacy of the federation presidents. While the party leader was in charge of the government and controlled the party through the governmentalisation of the party executive, the presidents ensured the linkages with the territorial apparatus and its mobilisation in support of the government when necessary.

The shift to the opposition indicated attempts to constrain the power of the federation presidents and to tighten the control over the local structures intervening on their prerogatives regarding the affiliation processes and members' fees. The rationales driving the organisational reforms enacted by Ferro Rodrigues regarded party's renewal, transparency and modernisation. Most of the measures were resisted or were less effective in their practical implementation. With the return to government a few years later under Sócrates, the features characterising intra-party relations under Guterres' leadership were reproduced, with the difference that, due to the party enjoying its first ever absolute majority, there was even a stronger leadership personalisation. In this regard, Costa's leadership seems to diverge as demonstrated by the attempts to keep the apparatus active during the incumbency through the deputy secretary-general and to avoid the governmentalisation of the party. By contrast, in opposition, the new leaders tried to revitalise the organisation by seeking to generate incentives of participation, revitalising party image, as well as consolidating their internal position. These goals entailed the adoption of measures directed to reinforce the top-down control.

The Social Democratic Party (PSD)

The second part of this chapter focuses on the PSD analysing the relations between national and peripheral structures under four different phases: the formative phase, the long period in power under Cavaco Silva's majority governments (1987-1991; 1991-1995), the long opposition phase, only interrupted by few years in power in the early 2000s, and the most recent governmental experience under Passos Coelho (2011-2015).

4.8 The PSD. The formative phase and the organisational development

The PSD was founded by the initiative of Francisco Sá Carneiro, Francisco Pinto Balsemão and Joaquim Magalhães Mota on May 1974.⁷⁶ Only a few days after being formed, the PSD entered the first provisional government, with Sá Carneiro and Magalhães Mota being appointed ministers. Soon after, Sá Carneiro left the government to work on the party's organisational development (Sá Carneiro, 2010: 74). Beyond the turbulent nature of the Portuguese transition, the organisational building and territorial implantation of the PSD was constrained by severe financial problems. Although fundraising campaigns were carried out in this phase, the main sources originated from the founders' personal wealth and from the contribution of the northern industrial and bank sectors (Frain, 1997).⁷⁷ The supply of funding from external entities was constrained by the weak linkages of the PSD with the European parties (with the partial exception of the German SPD), and its exclusion from transnational party associations, namely the Socialist International (Frain, 1997:81; Sá Carneiro: 2010: 179).

In such context, the party was pressured to establish strong national ties. The process of organisational implantation was formally coordinated from the centre through the Secretariat for Regionalisation (*Secretariado da Regionalização*). Yet, as several scholars highlight, the organisational building developed mainly from the periphery to centre, contributing to shape the more decentralised character of the party compared to the PS (e.g. Lopes, 2002; Jalali, 2007). As de Sousa put it, the party was built «from the outside in Lisbon» (2000: 10). The party established an interstitial presence relying on opinion leaders in each town, especially in the northern ones. In such areas the PSD resorted to the co-optation of local elites and clientelist networks (Bruneau and Macleod, 1986; Corkill, 1995). Likewise, in the Azores

⁷⁶ The original name was *Partido Popular Democrático* – PPD (Popular Democratic Party). The name was changed in October 1976. The three founders were independent MPs of the “liberal wing” during the liberalisation phase carried out by Marcelo Caetano. They resigned in 1973.

⁷⁷ “Povo Livre”, n° 52, 2/7/1975, p. 12.

and Madeira regions, it resorted to pre-existent political organisations, formed by powerful barons, to create the PSD-Açores and the PSD-Madeira (Frain, 1997). However, the party needed to expand its coverage in areas where it was more difficult for it to gather support, namely the Setúbal industrial district and the rural districts of the Alentejo, which were both regions dominated by the communists. Building a local presence in these areas was crucial for not remaining a party territorially concentrated in the north (Frain, 1997: 38-44).⁷⁸ The success of the implantation varied from region to region. Most of the enrollments were done in the coastal districts of the north, and in the Azores and Madeira regions. Still, in a short period the party managed to establish some form of local presence, with delegations or representatives, in a large percentage of the councils (*ibid.*). Like the PS, the PSD followed the mass model configuration based on sections at the parish and council levels, as well as shop-floor sections which, however, were extinguished during the 1980s. The grassroots' representation in the national bodies was ensured by the congress, which was made up of delegates elected on a local basis, while the *ex-officio* component was lower if compared to that of the PS (Corkill, 1995: 69-70). At the intermediate level, district-level organisations in the mainland and regional organisations (in the Azores and Madeira's regions) were constituted. The intermediate level was more complex than the PS federations at the time (Stock, 1985).

After the 1976 elections, the party remained in opposition until 1979. During those years, the organisational functioning was improved. First, by separating the political and the administrative tasks within the party executive. Then, the congresses held during those years set pluralism and decentralisation as important criteria governing the internal functioning, with the introduction of the principle of proportional representation for the National Council, the permanent deliberative body (Sá Carneiro, 1979: 128; Corkill, 1995:75; Frain, 1997). This choice was aimed at avoiding party splits and fragmentation (Frain, 1997). However, Sá Carneiro's opposition prevented the system to be applied to the other national bodies. Likewise, while pluralism was emphasised, the right of tendency was expressly forbidden. The statutes approved in 1976 were aimed at increasing the decentralisation and enhancing the local units' functioning. The party rules established the formal involvement of the district

⁷⁸ The party rejected the attempts of some groups to impose a reinforced representation to the norther area (e.g. the *Grupo do Porto* at the 1976 Congress).

structures in candidate selection. Therefore, the PSD intermediate structures held from the outset formal powers in this process.

The following revision of the statutes in 1978 aimed at approximating and involving the militants by establishing annual congresses and reducing the mandates of the party bodies to one year, and widening the powers held by the national council. The goals set by Sá Carneiro for the organisation entailed the enhancement of the internal cohesion, discipline, and functioning of the different components, as well as the improvement of the territorial penetration of the party. Party discipline over public stances taken by national and regional bodies' members was tightened. These measures reveal attempts to strengthen the hierarchic control over the party and to consolidate the leadership's internal position. Concomitantly, the vertical coordination between the district and local units, and the horizontal coordination between the local party and the local office-holders, were improved.

4.9 The PSD in power in the 1980s. Party governmentalisation under Cavaco Silva

In 1979 the PSD formed the “Democratic Alliance” (*Aliança Democrática* – AD) coalition with the centre-right “Democratic and Social Centre” (*Centro Democrático Social* – CDS) and the “Monarchic Popular Party” (*Partido Popular Monárquico* – PPM) to run in the legislative elections of the same year. From 1979 to 1983, the AD coalition formed three governments. The first was headed by Sá Carneiro until his sudden death in December 1980. Then, the AD's governments were led by Pinto Balsemão. In this phase, only Sá Carneiro's leadership calmed internal conflicts (Frain, 1997). Indeed, internal struggles exacerbated by personalistic factionalism reemerged after Sá Carneiro's death, notwithstanding party's governmental position (Lopes, 1988).

In 1982 another statutory reform was carried out. At the national level, three vice-presidents of the political committee were introduced, enabling the representation in the party directorate of the different “factions”. At the local level, the local structures' leaders got *ex-officio* representation in the district structures' political committee (*Comissão Política Distrital*) and the public office-holders in the deliberative body (*Assembleia Distrital*). The district permanent committee was included in the statutes as the restricted executive body and its competencies specified. The local sections were formally involved in the MPs candidate selection, obtaining the right to be consulted by the district structures regarding

the candidacies. These features show the greater power held from the outset by the PSD territorial structures compared to the PS.

After the governmental experience under the AD, the PSD governed with the PS from 1983 to 1985, under the “Central Bloc”. In that year, the PSD’s majority governments begin, to be concluded only in 1995. In 1985, Cavaco Silva was (unexpectedly) elected leader by the congress, and two years later the PSD won its first absolute majority, which it replicated in 1991, thus governing alone for nearly a decade (1987-1995).⁷⁹ During this phase, the organisation was controlled by the leader and prime minister, through the governmentalisation of the party executive, which comprised several ministers and junior ministers (Lobo, 2003; 2005b: 173-174). Lack of internal debate, marginalisation of the national bodies and reduction of factionalism characterised this phase (Frain, 1997: 89, 1998: 188). Whenever in disagreement with the party leader, “exit” rather than “voice” strategies were chosen by prominent party members. The occupation of power fostered the autonomisation of the party leader from the party organisation, and extra-organisational resources provided by the access to power (i.e. patronage) were used to ensure the leader internal support and calm the factions aggregated around local barons and their clienteles (Frain, 1996; Lopes, 2004; Lobo, 2005b; Jalali and Lisi, 2009). Cavaco Silva’s personalised leadership was based on the establishment of direct linkage with the individual members and the electors, and on the neglect of the mediating role of the apparatus and intermediate strata (Lopes, 1988; Corkill, 1995; Frain, 1998: 199). On the other hand, Cavaco Silva’s weak relation with the party apparatus hampered his attempts to strengthen the control over the party by means of party rules, as best exemplified by the failed attempt to revise the statutes introducing disciplinary rules against internal dissent. Thus, in government there have been attempts to strengthen hierarchic control over the organisation, which were resisted in the congress by the party’s middle-level elites.

When the second PSD administration was nearing its end (1995), Cavaco Silva decided not to run for a further mandate as leader. Following this decision, two candidates disputed the leadership at the 1995 Congress: Fernando Nogueira and Durão Barroso. The former was elected thanks to the support of the apparatus, which by contrast was broadly hostile to Barroso (Frain, 1997).⁸⁰ Nogueira’s tenure was nonetheless short as he resigned from the leadership following the party’s defeat at the 1995 elections.

⁷⁹ Cavaco Silva was elected for only few votes from the other candidate, Salgueiro.

⁸⁰ A third candidate, Santana Lopes, withdrew the candidacy.

4.10 Adapting to a ‘culture of opposition’. The organisational reforms in the second half of the 1990s

The electoral defeat in the 1995 elections marked the beginning of a long opposition period and the change of several leaders in a few years. In 1996 the congress elected Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa as party leader, who remained in power until 1999. However, from the outset the new leader’s position was weakened by two facts. First, he was not in Parliament, thus it was more difficult for him to control the parliamentary group. Second, the party executive was made up of members in charge of European and regional public offices (i.e. Jardim, Dâmaso, Capucho), thus the “dispersion” of the party executive hindered the containment of the pressures coming from local leaders, especially those linked to the Lisbon district-structure (Frain, 1997: 228).

Within this context, under Marcelo’s leadership a wide plan of reorganisation was carried out. The statutory reforms were aimed at improving the internal functioning and at revitalising the membership.⁸¹ The party’s main goal was to adapt to the opposition status. As declared by the Secretary-General, Rui Rio: «the PSD had a culture of power, it did not have a culture of opposition and it needed to readapt to this new condition» (1997: 6-7).⁸² The internal reforms regarded different issues: modernisation, clarification of the internal rules to avoid their manipulation and the overrepresentation in internal processes, financial transparency.⁸³ Therefore, a wide process of “reaffiliation”, which entailed the update of the membership registers, was undertaken. As Pereira put it:

«the process represented the most profound internal change, whose practical implementation was due to the exceptional combination of unrepeatable circumstances, namely the initiative of the party leader and the secretary-general, who acknowledged the political relevance of intervening in the recruitment processes» (Pereira, 2002: 8).⁸⁴

The measure represented a direct intervention of the national party over a local domain aimed at enhancing the top-down control in internal mechanisms (i.e. hierarchy). The membership recruitment was managed with large autonomy by the local structures, whereas the party at

⁸¹ “Povo Livre”: «Alteração dos estatutos PPD/PSD - Documento de reflexão», n° 1069, 15/5/1996, pp. 2-3,

⁸² “Povo Livre” n°1112, 21/5/1997.

⁸³ “Semanário”, interview with Rui Rio, 24/7/1998.

⁸⁴ See also the interview to Rio in “Povo Livre”, n° 1072, 5/6/1996, p. 12.

the national level held only marginal capacity of control over the process. This fostered the diffusion of phenomena such as the manipulation of the number of members, formation of “paper” branches, mass payment of members’ fees in occasion of intra-party elections.⁸⁵ The result was the distortion of internal representation and the tight control of party structures by local notables, who were able to dispose of several party posts (e.g. delegates at the national congress and district assemblies). The reaffiliation process was then followed by the centralisation of the membership through the assignment of a national number to identify the members, which until then were identified at the district level. Concomitantly, new financial rules regarding the dues’ payment were approved: the national headquarters collected the member’s fee, retaining 10% and then transferring the rest to the local section where the member was officially enrolled.⁸⁶ The section could still collect fees locally but since then it was obliged to forward these to the headquarters. These measures reinforced the accountability capacity of the national party and the top-down control, limiting the local autonomy. The reforms, which represented an attempt of the national party to constrain local autonomy and strengthen the control over the organisation, raised intra-party conflicts and were resisted by the local structures, which were able to attenuate the effects of their implementation (Pereira, 2002). Thus, territorial structures continued to exercise important powers regarding recruitment and capacity to influence the enrollment (and act as entry barriers).

A second type of measures entailed in the statutory revision regarded ordinary members’ inclusion in internal decisions. Thereafter, the district structures’ bodies were directly elected by members. Concomitantly, the power of the local assemblies in these processes was reduced. The democratisation was applied only at the local level given that the proposals supporting the direct election by members of all the party bodies, including the leader, were withdrawn from voting due to Marcelo de Sousa’s opposition. Thus, the national congress kept its prerogatives in the process, remaining the selecting body of the party leadership.

In the meanwhile, party instability intensified with increasing pressures coming from the local elites and difficulties for the national leadership to secure internal cohesion (de Sousa, 2000). The growing “infiltration” of the national bodies by local office-holders and

⁸⁵ Reform proposals entailing measures aimed at counteracting those practices (called *sindicatos de votos*) by changing the criteria for the allocation of delegates were rejected. See for instance the position of former secretary-general, A. Capucho, in “Povo Livre”, n° 1069, 15/5/1996.

⁸⁶ “Povo Livre”, n°1100, 19/2/1997.

local cadres since the second half of the 1990s worsened the condition of vulnerability characterising party leaders outside governmental office (Jalali, 2006; Pereira, 2007: 58).⁸⁷ This process was apparent in the permanent deliberative body, the National Council, whose fractionalisation was worsened by the proportional representation system. This factor, coupled with the local leaders' control over the district and local bodies, gave the peripheral structures leverage in intra-party dynamics to the detriment of the national leadership, which was discouraged from alienating the support of territorial leaders (Jalali, 2006, 2007).

In this regard, it may be argued that this pattern diverges from the stratarchical paradigm originally predicted by Katz and Mair (1995). In fact, the penetration of the national bodies by the local sectors would contradict the separation of spheres of influences and mutual autonomy between strata. On the other hand, it is worth highlighting that local level's pressure over the national level was not aimed at influencing party's national strategies, but rather it served the local strata to keep their autonomy in local interests against national party's intervention. The local level seems thus to take advantage of the national leadership's weakness in opposition to secure its local autonomy by resorting to the occupation of the national deliberative bodies. The main source of national-local conflicts within the PSD emerged during the reform of the statutes governing the parliamentarians position, defended by Guterres' government. The reform put an end to the frequent practices of MPs temporarily suspending office in order to exercise functions as mayors and then returned to the Parliament. The abstention of the PSD is illustrative of the influence capacity exercised by the local sectors and mainly aimed at preserving their local interests (Jalali, 2007).

In 1999, another leadership change took place with the election of Durão Barroso, whose mandate lasted until 2004. The new leader tried to consolidate his power by distributing internal incentives through the inclusion of party apparatus' representatives (i.e. district leaders and mayors) in his lists for the national bodies.⁸⁸ At the same time, this strategy served to ensure the mobilisation of the organisation for the upcoming local elections (December 2001). Concomitantly, organisational measures indicate the efforts of the national leadership to contain the structures and enhance elites' renewal, such as through the adoption of term limits to the district president's office and the establishment of compulsory turnover after three mandates (six consecutive years in office). Like the PS, in

⁸⁷ Pereira defined this trend as an "autarquização" (municipalisation) of the party structures.

⁸⁸ "Público" online: «Durão cerca-se de indefectíveis» 28/2/2000.

the PSD, low elites' circulation fostered the emergence of oligarchic tendencies within the apparatus. The adoption of term limits in both parties showed the national level's concern (at least in terms of party image) over the issue (see chapters 6 and 7).

Concurrently, the *ex-officio* members ceased to be included as full members (i.e. voting rights) in the congress, which henceforth was formed exclusively by elected delegates. The measure aimed at appealing to the grassroots by providing more influence in the congress. However, it is worth stressing the strategic rationale behind the proposal of removing the *ex-officio* component, given that it emerged as counter-proposal to Santana Lopes' motion entailing the direct election of the party leader that, for the first time, was to be voted by the congress (Congress of Viseu, 2000).

The victory in the 2001 local elections (with notable wins in major cities such as Lisbon and Porto), increased the PSD's perspective to return to power, contributing to calm internal pressures and to enhance Barroso's room for manoeuvre (Jalali, 2007). The socialist defeat at the local elections was followed by Guterres' resignation as Prime Minister and party leader and paved the way for early elections to be held in February 2002.

4.11 From opposition to government and back. The rise of leadership instability (2000-2010)

The victory of the PSD in the early elections of 2002 was followed by the formation of a coalition government with the CDS-PP as junior partner (Lobo and Magalhães, 2002). At the party level, the incumbency opened an internal debate regarding the need to find mechanisms discouraging the identification of the party with the government, occurred under Cavaco Silva, and the consequent demobilisation of the party.⁸⁹ Yet, no consensus was found regarding the separation of the governmental and party function.

Moreover, two years later, Barroso resigned from the government and the party leadership, due to his election as President of the European Commission. The PR, Sampaio, appointed as Prime Minister Santana Lopes, the first vice-president of the PSD, who was then elected party leader by the Congress.⁹⁰ However, it turned out soon that Santana Lopes lacked support within the party, both from prominent members (e.g. Cavaco Silva) and from large

⁸⁹ Público" online, «Um Congresso para evitar os erros do cavaquismo», 12/7/2002.

⁹⁰ Barroso had appointed Santana Lopes, the candidate defeated at the 2000 congress, as vice-president of the national political committee in order to foster party unity.

sectors of the territorial apparatus, which was still dominated by *barrosistas* - the personalised faction close to the former leader. The ensuing governmental instability led the PR to dissolve the Parliament and to call for fresh elections, held in February 2005.

The leader's negotiation with the territorial structures for the MPs candidates was highly conflictual, with the district presidents publicly criticising the leader's unwritten prerogative to decide the top candidates. Thus, the conflictual candidate selection and electoral campaign denounced the enduring factionalism within the PSD and the difficulties for the new leader to build internal consensus.⁹¹ An excerpt of a press interview delivered after the elections by the district president of the PSD-Leiria, Isabel Damasceno, well illustrates the relations of the structures with this leader:

«the unanimity of the district structures towards Santana Lopes in the last congress existed because there was not an alternative, Santana was the Prime Minister. It was convenient to support him».⁹²

The 2005 election represented a true debacle for the PSD which obtained 28,7% of the votes, showing the leader's reduced capacity to mobilise the party electorate (Lobo and Silva, 2018). Shortly after the elections, and given increasing turmoil, with criticism towards the district presidents for not having supported the government, Santana Lopes summoned an extraordinary congress announcing his resignation.

The leadership was then contested at the Congress by two candidates: Luís Marques Mendes, one of the main critics of Santana Lopes, and minister in Barroso's government, and Luís Filipe Menezes, mayor of an important northern council (Gaia) and former leader of PSD-Porto, the biggest district-structure. The former was the "favourite candidate", being publicly supported by prominent national members as well as by large sectors of the party apparatus.

The campaign for the leadership was centred on the organisational reforms, namely the reform of the leader's selection method. The two candidates supported the introduction of the democratisation of the leadership selection as a measure to revitalise the membership and provide participatory incentives. Contrary to Menezes, Mendes had been a strong critic of the direct election, indicating the strategic consideration behind the debate over the reform

⁹¹ For instance, Cavaco Silva, did not authorise the use of his image in the electoral posters, suggesting the perception of the PSD's unpopularity. In January 2006 he would have ran as candidate in the presidential elections.

⁹² "Público" online, 22/2/2005. <https://www.publico.pt/2005/02/22/jornal/destaque-8214>.

(Lisi, 2015a).⁹³ Menezes also tried to appeal to the apparatus by supporting measures such as the inclusion of the district presidents as *ex-officio* members of the party executive, and a closer relation of the national leadership with the local structures.

Mendes' election was followed by the statutory revision, introducing the direct election of the leader by members, to be concluded with the final approval by congress held after the presidential elections. The reform altered the power distribution by decreasing the power of the delegates elected by the local structures and by improving the leader's legitimacy. The reform is discussed more in detail in chapter 8.

In the meanwhile, Mendes had to navigate the party in opposition, with local elections on the horizon and the PS government in its "honey-moon" phase. Mayors of important municipalities were included in the party executive in order to prepare the party for the local elections.⁹⁴ Concomitantly, efforts to impose the national strategy over the local elections' campaign were undertaken by the new leadership. This was best exemplified by Mendes' attempt to filter candidates involved in corruption-related scandals and thus to forbid them to run under the party label. The decision, aimed at improving party image through transparency measures, triggered internal strife since it directly involved powerful local barons in party strongholds and who opposed the central intervention in issues considered of "local domain". These episodes of conflicts, which in some case resulted in the disaffiliation and formation of (successful) independent lists running against the party, showed the difficulty for the national leadership to exercise control over the party in some areas due to local leaders and notables' grip on local structures and local power. This feature makes national intervention in local domain more difficult. More in general, these episodes are indicative of the party's fragile loyalties and organisational weakness due to the personalised control of the party structures. Notwithstanding the loss of some strongholds, the PSD won (alone or in coalition) more than half of the 308 municipalities, giving Mendes a little more breathing space (Jalali and Lobo, 2006).

At the internal level, the reforms carried out in this phase regarded two aspects, which were both aimed at revitalising the organisation. Firstly by the direct election of the leader there were provided incentives of participation to the rank-and-file. Still, the Congress remained the elective body of the other national bodies, including the party executive. The

⁹³ Menezes had actively endorsed the introduction of the members' ballot for the district leaders and the party leader since the 1990s.

⁹⁴ Coimbra and Leiria mayors.

second regarded a key aspect for the party functioning, i.e. the separation between the party in government and the party organisation. This issue, which had been already discussed in 2002 during Barroso's government, concerned the attempt to avoid the hollowing out of the organisation when the party was incumbent, experienced under Cavaco Silva. In practice, the new rules set the prohibition for the secretary-general to accumulate governmental functions. Concomitantly, the measure gave this actor, directly appointed by the leader, strong powers to manage the organisation during the incumbency and to keep the party mobilised and supportive of the government on behalf of the leader and prime minister. Finally, other measures aimed at improving the vertical coordination with the peripheral structures by establishing regular (i.e. every two months) meetings to be held between the party leader and the secretary-general with the district presidents.

In the first direct leadership selection experienced by the PSD (2006), Mendes ran unopposed. Nevertheless, the election in Congress of the national bodies showed that personalised factionalism was strong and organised. This was best exemplified by the fact that the leader's list to the National Council failed to obtain the majority of the elective posts (23 in 55 elected members). In the following months, dissatisfaction towards the opposition strategy threatened leadership stability and finally led Mendes to resign following the defeat of the party in the early elections for the Lisbon's town-hall (July 2007) governed in coalition with the CDS.⁹⁵ The direct election was this time disputed by two candidates: Mendes, who was running for re-election, and his former challenger Menezes. While Mendes was supported by large part of the party elites, including most of the district presidents, Menezes tried to appeal to the local office-holders by endorsing measures such as the decentralisation of the financing, the exclusive competence of the district structures on the parliamentary selection, the establishment of regular contacts between the party leader and the local office-holders.⁹⁶ Menezes managed to win the direct election for a tight margin and failed to get the control over the National Council. The new leader's longevity in office was short. Nearly seven months after being elected, Menezes stepped down due to the permanent state of internal criticism.

⁹⁵ The Lisbon Mayor, Carmona Rodrigues, had been elected with the PSD-CDS coalition as independent in 2005. Due to his involvement in a juridical investigation, Mendes decided to withdraw the confidence on the mayor, paving the way to early elections.

⁹⁶ "Povo Livre", n° 1525, 17/10/2007, p. 3 Menezes also defended the return of the payment of the party dues on cash, a practise that had been forbidden due to transparency reasons, such as to hamper mass payment practices. The national council voted in favour of the revision of the party regulation on financing (68%).

The leadership was then contested by four candidates, displaying a high level of competitiveness. In the event, Manuela Ferreira Leite, former Minister of Finances and backed by prominent national members, defeated Pedro Passos Coelho and Santana Lopes who were supported by several territorial leaders (e.g. district presidents).⁹⁷ Hence, Ferreira Leite's election as party leader was interpreted by some observers as evidence of the reduced influence exercised by the local barons on members, due to the direct election system (Lisi, 2011: 237). The leadership change coincided with an intensive electoral cycle: European, legislative and local elections were scheduled in 2009.

This context required the new leader to focus on the electoral campaign rather than organisational issues. In fact, in this phase the candidate selection process was the major arena of conflict between the party leadership and large sectors of the territorial organisation.⁹⁸ The national leadership tried to tighten the control over the process of selection for both the legislative and local elections and to marginalise the district presidents from the process. Firstly, in the pre-selection phase the leader decided to retain for herself the prerogative of appointing the top-list candidates for the legislative election. Secondly, by vetoing candidates approved by the structures while parachuting others. Thirdly, by forbidding the practice of "double candidacy". Accordingly, a candidate could not run both for the legislative and the local elections. These hierarchically-oriented measures were best exemplified by the withdrawal of Passos Coelho, former challenger of the incumbent leader, from the list approved by the district structure (PSD-Vila Real).⁹⁹

While in the European election the PSD came out ahead of the PS (31,7% vis-à-vis 26,5%), it was not able to capitalise the result at the legislatures, won by the socialists this time with a relative majority (Freire, 2010). The electoral defeat exacerbated the internal criticism towards the party leader, with public pressures to anticipate the leadership election before the expiration of the mandate (2010) emerging, and leadership changes at district level.¹⁰⁰ However, the clarification was postponed after the local elections. Although the

⁹⁷ The forth candidate was the MP, Patinha Antão, but he had no real chance to compete.

⁹⁸ For instance, the political committee of the PSD-Faro (leader supporter of Santana Lopes) approved a declaration questioning the "discretionary" use of the statutory powers by the leader.

⁹⁹ These episodes received an extensive media coverage. See for instance: "Público" online: «Pedro Passos Coelho fora da lista do PSD para as legislativas», 5/8/2009; "Expresso" online: «PSD: Polémica em Aveiro, Setúbal e Lisboa», 4/8/2009; "Jornal de Notícias": «Líder inflexível põe PSD em pé de guerra», 6/8/2009.

¹⁰⁰ "Público" online: «Aparelho laranja posiciona-se para a sucessão no PSD»; 17/11/2009; "Diário de Notícias" online: «Abaixo-assinado no PSD para provocar diretas já», 24/11/2009.

PSD won most of the town-halls, it failed to keep the number of councils won in the former elections and lost in terms of votes and seats (Freire, 2010).

4.12 Passos Coelho's leadership and the return to government (2010-2015)

Finally, in March 2010, an extraordinary congress was assembled to debate the political situation and different proposals of organisational reforms, including the return to the election of the leader by the congress and the revision of the candidate selection. Some district structures (Viana do Castelo, Faro, Setúbal, Lisbon, Coimbra, Vila Real, Portalegre, Bragança, Castelo Branco and Évora) tried to aggregate support towards the reform of the candidate selection proposing to clearly specify in the statutes the division of power between the national and local level, i.e. while the national political committee retained the right to select the top-list candidates, the rest of the list was to be of competence of the district political committees.

The direct elections that followed the congress were won by Passos Coelho. To secure the party organisation and try to consolidate his internal power, two main strategies were adopted by the new leader. First, the negotiation with the second most voted candidate (Paulo Rangel) of a unitary list to the national council. The move ensured the control of the majority of the seats. The second strategy was the building of tighter (and personalistic) linkages with the territorial structures, by appointing as Secretary-General a member with strong connections and popularity within the structures, Miguel Relvas, who had a key role in mobilising the support towards Passos Coelho.¹⁰¹

The leadership change, and the return of the PSD to government after the early elections of September 2011, inaugurated a phase of party stability. Still, the incumbency occurred under harsh external constraints. In May 2011 the socialist government, the PSD and the CDS-PP signed the “Memorandum of Understanding” with the European Commission, European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The bailout and the adjustment program, negotiated with the “troika”, imposed austerity policies which the new PSD-CDS/PP government had pledged to comply with.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Relvas was substituted in 2011 when he entered the government as minister since the party statutes prohibit the accumulation of the office of secretary-general with governmental functions. In April 2013 Relvas resigned due to a scandal involving his master's degree.

¹⁰² In May 2011 the PS government and the PSD and the CDS-PP signed the “Memorandum of Understanding” with the European Commission, European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Thus, compared with the governmental experiences of 1985-1995 decade, the party faced a radically different economic and political environment. In particular, the reform of the local administration and the spending cuts on the local finances imposed by the Memorandum could trigger intra-party conflicts between the national and the local levels. The general context could make it more difficult for the national leadership to rely on the resources ensured by the access to power while neglecting the organisation as source of internal support. Moreover, Passos Coelho had a closer relation with the party apparatus compared to that established by Cavaco Silva. Measures for managing the party organisation during the incumbency were adopted. After being reelected for a second term (2012-2014), Passos Coelho reshuffled the party executive replacing some of the members which held governmental functions, which indicated the effort to avoid party governmentalisation. A new party office, the “political coordinator” for heading the party on behalf of the leader and PM was created. Initially, this office was entrusted to a member rather distant from the party apparatus (Moreira da Silva), which was interpreted as a way to contain the influence of this sector in the party executive.¹⁰³ Concomitantly, internal incentives aimed at rewarding careerists were introduced through the expansion of the national bodies (the national council shifted from 55 to 77 members), suggesting the attempt to consolidate internal support. On the other hand, intra-party democracy reforms improving members participation and party openness, which had been promised by Passos Coelho when elected leader in 2010, were rejected by the congress (see chapter 8).

The first congress held with the party in government (2012) served to show the party cohesion towards the government. Even though this time the unitary list to the National Council failed to reach an absolute majority, apparently the competing lists were not antagonistic to the leader’s line. The discontent towards the governmental policies expressed from the party in local power and represented by the ASD (local office holders’ affiliated association) and ANAFRE (parishes’ national association) was circumscribed to avoid the negative effects on the image of the government.¹⁰⁴

Yet, in the following months the relations with the structures and the district leaders seemed to deteriorate due to the difficult of the territorial structures to be heard by the government regarding local issues.¹⁰⁵ Few weeks before the 2013 local elections, a crisis within the coalition government led to a governmental reshuffle with implications on the party

¹⁰³ Público: «Passos quer romper com o aparelhismo no interior do partido», 25/3/2012, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Público: «Cúpula do PSD receia que autarcas descontentes ensombrem o congresso», 23/3/2012, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Jornal de Negócios online: «Líderes das distritais do PSD criticaram Passos Coelho», 10/5/2013.

organisation. The political coordinator, who was appointed minister, was substituted by the vice-president and junior minister, Marco António Costa. The choice for Costa, who held a strong influence within the structures, could contribute to calm the territorial structures that lamented difficulties in acceding to the government after Relvas' resignation as minister.

At the electoral level, the PSD's official position regarding the interpretation of the Law of 2005 on the term limits in local power indicates national party's low interference in local affairs or, from a reversed perspective, local barons' high influence. Contrary to the PS, the PSD decided to allow the mayors who had completed three consecutive terms in office to run as candidates in a different council. In some councils, powerful mayors were able to impose their candidacy notwithstanding the opposition of the local sections and the activists (e.g. Porto, Guarda). On the one hand, these occurrences confirm party's organisational weakness on the ground vis-à-vis personalistic tendencies and, on the other hand, national party's difficulty or unwillingness to intervene at the local level, even in episodes potentially damaging for party's public image.¹⁰⁶

The debacle at the 2013 local elections represented a yellow card to Passos Coelho's government. Public dissent towards the party's neo-liberal drift were expressed by prominent members in the national media and the party in local power tried to make its voice heard demanding a new "pact of confidence".¹⁰⁷ At the following congress (of 2014) the party directorate placed the emphasis on the governmental success in complying with the Adjustment Program and on the approaching European elections. At the internal level, the leader's strategy towards the organisation suggested the attempt to reinforce his position and avoiding power concentration in the political coordinator. The political committee included influential new vice-presidents, such as Cascais' Mayor and former PSD-Lisbon president, Carlos Carreiras. Likewise, the unpopular and controversial return of his former right-hand, Relvas, as top-list candidate in the National Council indicated the leader's room for manoeuvre.¹⁰⁸ Still, the decision had a negative impact on the results for the national bodies'

¹⁰⁶ Porto was the most emblematic case. Menezes' candidacy to the town-hall was criticised by prominent members, including the outgoing PSD mayor, Rui Rio. Público: «PSD Concelhio dividido quanto à candidatura de Menezes ao Porto», 11/10/2012. In Guarda the process led to the resignation of the local section: «Concelhia da Guarda do PSD demitiu-se em bloco por discordar do candidato». In Sintra the conflicts between the local and the district structure led to the expulsion of the former Secretary-General (António Capucho). Several members were expelled for having supported or joined opposition lists.

¹⁰⁷ Motion presented by the *Autarcas Social-Democratas* (ASD).

¹⁰⁸ Expresso: «Passos escondeu Relvas da direção do PSD», 1/3/2014, p. 8. The list headed by Relvas only elected 18/70 members at the national council.

lists thus undermining party cohesion in a difficult context, which was further complicated by the defeat of the PSD-CDS coalition in the European elections.

The 2015 candidate selection process showed the national leadership's goal to filter candidates. Firstly, stricter pre-selective criteria excluded local office-holders from running. Secondly, in some cases top-list members were imposed in opposition to the district-structures' preferences.¹⁰⁹ These decisions affected candidates backed by the territorial structures which tried to challenge the national party on this issue, to no avail.¹¹⁰

While the PSD-CDS/PP coalition won the elections, it failed to have the necessary majority support in Parliament to govern. This phase of instability was followed by the new political scenario that led the PS to the government. The unpredictable political context created a stalemate within the PSD. On the one hand, the perception was that the government would not have lasted too long. On the other, concrete alternatives to the leadership had not emerged or they still needed to aggregate consensus. In such context, Passos Coelho was reselected for a fourth term, which was characterised by internal strains from the outset. Passos Coelho stepped down shortly afterwards the party's electoral debacle in local elections. In January 2018, Rui Rio, former secretary-general and former Porto Mayor, was elected leader.

Summary

In the case of the PSD, local structures' autonomy was more pronounced from the outset and was stated in the formal rules adopted in the early years, making this level stronger in comparison with the PS. Concomitantly, on the part of the leadership there was the need to conciliate internal pluralism and local autonomy with central control, which implied the adoption of hierarchic-oriented measures (e.g. party discipline). This strategy was more easily accomplished when Sá Carneiro managed to affirm his undisputed leadership and until his sudden death (1980). During Cavaco Silva's majoritarian governments, the national leadership extensively resorted on extra-organisational resources, i.e. patronage and occupation of the state, to build the consensus and contain internal pressures. The party was identified with the government (the so-called *poder laranja*).¹¹¹ The long incumbency was

¹⁰⁹ PSD, Comissão Política Nacional, «Regulamento eleitoral» (2015). Note that the lists were negotiated with the CDS/PP, junior partner of the pre-electoral coalition, "Portugal à Frente", thus the number of seats at disposal of each party was reduced.

¹¹⁰ Diário de Notícias: «Autarcas fora das listas causa desconforto nas estruturas do PSD», 12/7/2015. See also Público: «Escolha de Nilza obriga a organização de Beja do PSD a 'engolir sapos vivos'»

¹¹¹ Orange power. *Laranja* (orange) is the colour of the PSD

followed by a long period in opposition, briefly interrupted between 2002 and 2004 with Barroso's government. The adaptation to the novelty of being opposition required the adoption of organisational reforms aimed at revitalised the organisation, enacted by Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and Rui Rio (1996-1999). The direct elections of the district party bodies were the main incentives to mobilise the rank-and-file. Concomitantly, the measure reduced local assemblies' influence at the territorial level. The reforms also comprised politically sensitive measures for enforcing transparency in internal processes and issues of local domains, which in fact triggered conflicts with the peripheral structures. Similar reforms were done by Mendes' directorate, which also tried to impose decisions in local candidacies. Concomitantly, the introduction of the direct leadership selection reduced the influence exercised by the local structures through the delegates in the national congress. However, this innovation was forced by external and internal pressures, i.e. contagion from the PS, electoral defeat, party image and struggle for the leadership. Moreover, in this phase the reform also concerned the party-government separation and namely the need to counteract the demobilisation of the organisation, experienced under Cavaco Silva. Overall, the phase in opposition was characterised by high leadership instability fostered by internal strains which also involved national-local relations, showing the difficulties experienced by the PSD leadership in trying to tighten hierarchic control in local domains. The high instability experienced during the 2000s indicates the importance for the leader to hold a broad support within the apparatus for surviving in office. The two long phases in government, first under Cavaco Silva and then under Passos Coelho are different. Beyond the characteristics of the government, (majoritarian vis-à-vis coalitional) and of the socio-economic context (2011 bailout), the leader's relation with the party apparatus diverged. Under Passos Coelho's mandate, the relations of the national leadership with the territorial structures are managed relying on actors very popular within the territorial structures, such as the secretary-general and the political coordinator, which may have enabled the leader to have the territorial organisation under control and mobilised in support of the government.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the centre-periphery relations within the PS and the PS from 1974 onwards to test whether an increasing degree of reciprocal autonomy over time emerged. It has looked at the different institutional position (opposition-government) experienced by the two parties. The expectation was to find stratarchical features (reciprocal autonomy) when

the party was incumbent, and to find attempts to reinforce hierarchical control under opposition status. The analysis has shown that in both parties, distinct patterns emerge in the different phases. The PS started from a hierarchic configuration entailing unilateral control from above, which was loosened since the mid of 1980s. The loosening of hierarchical control was directed from the centre and responded to the necessity of improving party's local electoral performance and consolidating the leader's internal position. In other words, it was not the result of conflicts triggered by the periphery demanding for autonomy.

The case of the PS confirms previous observations suggesting a trend towards stratarchical configuration, especially during governmental phases (Lisi, 2009). Incumbency fostered reliance on extra-organisational resources to the detriment of the resources and the inputs generated by the organisation, except for the ritual mobilisation in specific phases. However, in opposition, the attempts to tighten hierarchical control have been too short for showing to what extent the configuration of the relations between levels radically changes. The governmental experience under Costa's leadership is still ongoing. On the one hand, differently from the previous phases in government, the leadership is trying to avoid the hollowing out of the organisation by separating the party from the government. On the other hand, the last statutory change seems to envision the diluting of the organisational boundaries through the inclusion of sympathisers in party decisions and through the creation of new forms of coordination non-territorially based.

Compared to the PS, the PSD has followed a different path. While in the PS the starting point is a hierarchical configuration, in the PSD the territorial structures' autonomy, and therefore the tendency towards stratarchical configuration, has been more pronounced since the outset, confirming previous studies (Jalali, 2006; Jalali and Lisi, 2009). This initial feature has been incorporated in the party's functioning through formal rules and informal practices adopted during the formative phase. The long governmental phase experienced under Cavaco Silva, and the stability ensured by the occupation of power, contributed to consolidate the division of competences between levels. This model has then conditioned the following developments in intra-party relations. In the long phase at the opposition, there have been attempts of tightening the control from above, but their practical effects have been defused, as well as the interference in local electoral issues has been contested. The autonomy of the local level made more difficult for the leadership to try to impose hierarchic measures, especially in opposition and under high leadership instability. In this phase, the internal conflicts concerned the defence of the local structures' autonomy regarding the management

of local power. The local level has been able to keep its degree of autonomy by means of internal struggles which have taken place by means of local elites' penetration in the national bodies (Jalali, 2006). Contrary to what predicted by Katz and Mair (1995) – as separation of the local and national levels also in party bodies' composition – the territorial structures used precisely their access to the national party bodies for defending their own local autonomy. However, the periphery seems not to have taken advantage of this higher autonomy, and influence capacity, to improve its formal powers in terms of allocation of resources and competences over time. Rather, like the PS, the territorial structures have lost influence capacity in the selection of the party leader, which has been transferred to the members and withdrawn from the congress contributing to the autonomisation of the leader. Finally, in line with our expectation, the different nature of party origin seems to play a role in the different paths emerged in the two parties. In the PSD, the local structures' autonomy originated in the party formative phase seems contribute to explain the model of relations between levels. Likewise, the higher centralised nature of PS contributes to explain the convergence towards stratarchy over time, and namely the autonomy as a process 'delegated' from the centre.

Chapter V

Organisation, resources and powers of the PS and the PSD territorial structures

This chapter focuses on the territorial structures by presenting key features concerning their organisation, resources, powers and leadership. From this perspective, this chapter dialogues with chapter 3 which has observed the two parties at the national level. The goal of this chapter is to provide a more comprehensive examination of the role and functions of the territorial structures bringing together formal rules and actual practices, and thus to understand the relative strength of this component in intra-party dynamics. To this aim, we resort to the information collected through interviews to party elites – namely the federation (PS) and district presidents (PSD) – and through the analysis of party documents and secondary sources.

5.1 Organisation and resources of the territorial structures

In this section we describe the organisation of the PS and the PSD at the territorial level and provide data on membership density and organisational extensiveness. At the time of their formation, the two parties adopted an organisational model formally based on the mass party and the party structure is territorially-based. The two parties are organised following Portugal's administrative division in district/regional, municipal and parish levels. Beyond that, both the PS and PSD organise members living abroad under two “emigration” structures, European and extra-European. The PS also holds shop-floor structures (*secções de acção sectorial*), whereas the PSD extinguished them in the mid-1980s (Biezen, 2003). In the continental area, the two parties are organised in nineteen intermediate structures at the district level, the PS federations (*Federações*) and the PSD district structures (*Distritais*), which correspond to the eighteen districts plus one structure encompassing few councils in Lisbon's western area.¹¹² The party intermediate echelon at the district level in Portugal continental was initially conceived as a temporary solution pending the implementation of the constitutional provision concerning the establishment of administrative regions. To date, the meso-level of government has not been introduced and parties only compete in legislative

¹¹² The *Federação Regional Oeste* (PS-FRO) of the PS encompasses five councils, i.e. Alenquer, Cadaval, Lourinhã, Sobral de Monte Agraço, Torres Vedras. The PSD-Área Oeste (PSD/AO) also encompasses Arruda dos Vinhos, therefore six councils.

and local elections.¹¹³ Conversely, the Azores and Madeira's archipelagos hold the special status of autonomous regions, with own regional governments and parliamentary assemblies. In those areas, the PS and the PSD are organised in regional structures, the PS-Açores and the PS-Madeira and the PSD-Açores and the PSD-Madeira. Differently from the nineteen structures of the mainland, the regional structures hold their own statutes and *ex-officio* representatives in the national executive body.

In both parties, the structure has remained 'crystallised' in the model set in 1974, with only minor changes over time. On this regard, the interviewees highlighted the absence of changes in this dimension, and the limits of this articulation for the party functioning at the present time.

«Nowadays, the organisational structure based only on geography is very anachronistic, it has emerged that it is not truly close to the citizens. The party structure should be increasingly organised according to other aspects besides geography, such as thematic areas or professions, and the party should shift towards a non-geographic organisation that would better attract the citizens to the party, by providing other types of motivations. In contemporary society, with high degrees of citizens' mobilisation, the territorial organisation is obsolete. This issue has to do with another problem, related to the system of representation. The reform of the party may only exist together with the reform of the political system and the establishment of single-member constituencies. Party territorial structures are dispersed and disconnected from social reality in terms of positions and themes. This is coupled with the distancing between electors and elected and the lack of a real accountability of the representatives towards the electors» (P. Pinto Luz, PSD-Lisboa, 2013).

5.1.1 The internal articulation

As for the internal articulation, both parties are rather prescriptive regarding the composition and competences of the party bodies. Although the intermediate structures have the right to approve internal regulations, the self-ruling capacity is limited to complementary powers of

¹¹³ In 1998 the PS promoted a referendum on regionalisation which failed to achieve the quorum and was rejected (Gallagher, 1999; Baum and Freire, 2003). In the districts the national government was represented by appointed civil governors (*governador civil*) extinguished in 2013.

self-organisation (e.g. regulating the electoral processes of the local sections). This low degree of autonomy in self-regulation, which has remained unchanged since the outset, indicates high vertical integration and may be related with the specificities of party formation and the need to control the organisational building through detailed guide-lines and templates to be followed by the emerging territorial structures.

The PS

At local level, the PS holds two types of structures: (1) the section of residence (*secção de residência*) which encompasses the parish (*freguesia*) and requires at least fifteen members to be constituted, and (2) the council-level structure, i.e. the *concelhia*. When in a council there exists only one section – which is rather frequent – the section is identified with the *concelhia* and exercises its functions. The section holds a deliberative body, the members' assembly (*Assembleia Geral*) and an executive body, the secretariat (*Secretariado*), headed by the secretary-coordinator and elected by the assembly. The secretariat is formed by a number of elective members that varies (5-9) depending on the membership size, and by a member of the youth socialist organisation (*Juventude Socialista – JS*) as *ex-officio*. The sections depend on the *concelhia*, which is in charge of carrying out the party strategy in the council area. The *concelhia* is made up of a deliberative body, the political committee (*Comissão Política Concelhia*), headed by a president, and the secretariat (*Secretariado*) with executive functions. The political committee is made up of a varying number of elective members (15-61) directly elected by members. Local office-holders and JS representatives are included as *ex-officio*.¹¹⁴ The top-list member of the winning list for the political committee is elected as president, and on his or her proposal the political committee elects the secretariat (6-10 members) which also includes the JS' coordinator as *ex-officio* member.

At the intermediate level, the federation ensures the vertical coordination between the local and the national levels. The federation is organised almost resembling the party at the national level, holding the congress (*Congresso da Federação*) which represents the membership organisation, the political committee (*Comissão Política da Federação*) as permanent deliberative body, the federation president and the secretariat (*Secretariado da Federação*), the executive body led by the president. Finally, the federation entails two

¹¹⁴ The mayor and the municipal assembly's president, when the party is incumbent. The top-list members elected for the two council's organs (executive and municipal assembly), when the party is in opposition. The members of the JS on a 1/10 rate of the elective component.

committees in charge of the jurisdictional and the financial accountability issues (*Comissão Federativa de Jurisdição*, and *Comissão Federativa de Fiscalização Económica e Financeira*). The congress is the elective body of the political committee and the jurisdictional and financial and economic accountability committees. Following the national format, the congress comprises elective delegates and *ex-officio* members, with the latter not exceeding one-quarter of the elective component. The *ex-officio* component includes party officials, i.e. the federation president and the secretariat, the presidents of the *concelhias*, the representatives of the affiliated organisations, and the public-office holders, namely the mayors and the MPs elected in the electoral college. The national party bodies' members, governors, and European parliamentarians may attend the congress, yet without voting rights. The political committee is made up of elective members (15-71) plus as *ex-officio*, the president and other representatives of the JS, and the president of the women federative department, the PS women organisation (*Departamento Federativo das Mulheres Socialistas*). The members of the federation secretariat, the presidents of the *concelhias*, the local public office-holders (mayors and presidents of the municipal assemblies), the members of the national bodies, governors, MPs and MEPs may attend the meetings, albeit without voting rights. This body is in charge of important functions, including the approval of the MPs list that the federation presents to the party at the national level. On the federation president's proposal, the political committee elects the secretariat. The secretariat has a small size (7-15 members) plus the presidents of the JS and women organisation. It is in charge of executing the national and federative bodies' deliberations and defining the political action in the federation under the guidance of the federation president.

The PSD

Like the PS, the PSD is locally organised in two types of structures: the nucleus (*núcleo*) and the section (*secção*) which encompass the parish and the council areas respectively. The statutes require at least twenty members to constitute a nucleus. The nucleus holds an assembly of members (*Assembleia de Núcleo*) which elects the political committee (*Comissão Política de Núcleo*) in which are present also representatives of the youth organisation as *ex-officio* (*Juventude Social Democrata – JSD*). Contrary to the PS, the PSD lowest basic units do not elect delegates. The section, also called *concelhia*, is constituted by a minimum number of forty members. It holds a members' assembly (*Assembleia de Secção*), and a political committee (*Comissão Política de Secção*), with deliberative and

executive functions respectively. The political committee is elected by the assembly and is made up of a president, 1-2 vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and 4-8 members. Representatives of the JSD and of the social democrat workers' organisation (*Trabalhadores Sociais Democratas* – TSD) take part as *ex-officio*. The local public office-holders may attend the committee's meetings, yet without voting rights.

At the intermediate level, the PSD organises in district-level structures (*Estruturas Distritais*), commonly called *distritais*. The *Distrital* entails an assembly (*Assembleia Distrital*) and a political committee (*Comissão Política Distrital*) with deliberative and executive functions respectively. The permanent committee (*Comissão Política Permanente* – CPPD), which is made up of the elective component of the political committee, is the restricted executive body. The district structure also includes the jurisdictional council (*Conselho de Jurisdição Distrital*) and the recently created (2012) committee for the financial accountability (*Comissão Distrital de Auditoria Financeira* – CDAF). Differently from the PS, the members are called to elect all these bodies, plus the delegates to the district assembly. Beyond elective members, all the bodies entail *ex-officio* representatives, i.e. party and public local office-holders and representatives of the affiliated organisations (JSD and TSD). The local leaders, the local office-holders (2), and the JSD' and TSD' representatives take seat in the district assembly as *ex-officio*. The political committee includes the permanent committee plus the local leaders. The permanent committee comprises the district president, 1-2 vice-presidents, the secretary, the treasurer, 4-8 members. Representatives of the JSD, the TSD, and the local office-holders' organisation (*Autarcas Social Democratas* – ASD) take part as *ex officio*.

In both the PS and PSD, the statutes allow members of the national bodies to attend the meetings of the lower echelons. This feature has been considered an indicator of top-down representation, in contrast with the formal bottom up mass-structure of the parties, and as an indicator of central control and degree of centralisation (Biezen, 2003). In line with what observed by Biezen, the top-down representation is higher in the PS, albeit in both parties the national bodies' members have not voting rights. Interviewed about the participation of national bodies' members to the lower levels, a former PSD district president observes:

«Although the statutes admit the participation [national members], it does not happen frequently, at least when the meeting is held for taking decisions. It is not a common practice for them to attend the meetings, it may occur a

situation...they may be there more on a personal level. It may happen that the Secretary-General, or another member of the directorate, attends a district assembly, but in the case of meetings in which no decisions are taken. They go there more to explain the party vision, to explain the party position, [...] never to influence or inspect». (C. Crespo, MP, PSD-Portalegre, 2016)

5.1.2 Membership density and basic units

In most parties the number of active members, i.e. those holding electoral capacity, is still the principal criterium for the allocation of party posts (e.g. delegates). In both the PS and the PSD, active and passive electoral capacity is based on the payment of membership fees and on the seniority criterium, i.e. *minimum* membership length. Inactive members, i.e. those with voting rights suspended, are still relevant for two reasons. Firstly, they constitute a reservoir of potential voters which may be strategically re-activated in occasion of internal disputes. Secondly, the number of total members tends to be used by the national party for party image and party legitimacy.¹¹⁵

In Table 5.1 and 5.2 the distribution of active members and elected delegates by federation (PS) and *distrital* (PSD) is presented.¹¹⁶ In particular, the size of delegates each structure has the right to elect serves to illustrate their relative strength and within-party variation. Unfortunately, in the case of the PS, some data on the active members is missing. In terms of membership density, both the PS and the PSD hold few large structures (2-3), some medium-large, and several medium-small structures. This distribution is mainly due to the fact that they encompass districts with large variation in terms of demography as well as in terms of socio-economic structure. At the same time, it may provide some insights on the different implantation in some areas. In this regard, previous analyses have shown that despite the substantial ‘nationalisation’ of the two parties, the PS tends to have a more homogenous coverage across the country, whereas the PSD appears still rather

¹¹⁵ By way of example, in 2010 the PSD declared 131,488 members, but only 60% of them (i.e. 78,094) could vote in the leadership selection of that year. Similarly, of 91,000 members declared by the PS in 2016, 54% of them were active (i.e. 49,127). Sources: official party data and Correia Almeida (2017: 59). The PS National Secretary for the Organisation, Hugo Pires, has recently declared to the press that in 2016 the party held 150,000 members, with 87,000 of them having not paid membership dues for over 2 years.

¹¹⁶ In comparison with the PSD, the PS elects a higher number of delegates. The number of congressional delegates (750 delegates), is specified in the PSD statutes. Conversely, the PS establishes the number of delegates to be elected before each congress, thus the number tends to fluctuate. The PS includes *ex-officio* component which could not exceed one-quarter of the elected component. While the PSD congress is smaller, it is composed only by elective members, *ex-officio* members are not entitled to vote.

heterogeneous, with a higher concentration in the norther districts (Lisi, 2011: 87; but see Coelho, 2012: 110-111).

Table 5.1 Active members and delegates by PS federation, 2016

PS Federation	Active members	Delegates (%)
PS-Algarve	n/a	61 (3.5)
PS-Aveiro	2,500	76 (4.3)
PS/Baixo Alentejo	600	35 (1.9)
PS-Braga	n/a	93 (5.2)
PS-Bragança	600	32 (1.8)
PS-Castelo Branco	1,100	34 (1.9)
PS-Coimbra	4,500	182 (10.3)
PS-Évora	n/a	31 (1.7)
PS-Guarda	1,300	55 (3.1)
PS-Leiria	1,400	60 (3.4)
PS-Lisboa	6,500	219 (12.4)
PS-Portalegre	500	42 (2.4)
PS-Porto	8,000	311 (17.6)
PS-FROeste	300	16 (0.9)
PS-Santarém	1,200	51 (2.9)
PS-Setúbal	2,800	98 (5.5)
PS-Viana do Castelo	700	39 (2.2)
PS-Vila Real	n/a	48 (2.7)
PS-Viseu	2,700	68 (3.8)
PS-Açores	n/a	98 (5.5)
PS-Madeira	1,900	82 (4.6)
PS-Europa	n/a	22 (1.2)
PS-Fora Europa	n/a	11 (0.6)
Total	-	1764

Own elaboration. Members (estimates): own database of intra-party elections. Delegates: PS (2016) “Relação dos delegados a eleger, XXI Congresso Nacional”.

The PS-Porto and PS-Lisboa are the largest federations, with approximately 7000-8000 active members, reflected in a national representation of nearly 30% delegates (17% and 12% respectively). The medium-large federation of the PS-Coimbra follows, alongside the two medium federations of the PS-Braga and the PS-Setúbal. Therefore, these five federations cover nearly 50% of the total delegates. The other federations are medium-size structures, such as the PS-Setúbal and the PS-Aveiro in the southern and northern coastal areas. Finally, the PS has some very small structures, with 600-700 active members, which represent less than 2% of the delegates.

Table 5.2 Active members and delegates by PSD district-structure, 2017

PSD district-structure	Active Members (%)	Delegates (%)
PSD-Algarve-Faro	1,931 (2.7)	23 (3)
PSD-Aveiro	7,683 (10.9)	77 (10.2)
PSD-Beja	358 (0.5)	5 (0.6)
PSD-Braga	7,830 (11.1)	70 (9.3)
PSD-Bragança	1,625 (2.3)	21 (2.7)
PSD-Castelo Branco	815 (1.2)	14 (1.8)
PSD-Coimbra	2,972 (4.2)	37 (4.9)
PSD-Évora	641 (0.9)	9 (1.1)
PSD-Guarda	2,017 (2.8)	29 (3.8)
PSD-Leiria	3,376 (4.7)	36 (4.7)
PSD-Lisboa AM	10,765 (15.3)	88 (11.7)
PSD-Lisboa Aoeste	509 (0.7)	8 (1)
PSD-Portalegre	600 (0.8)	8 (1)
PSD-Porto	13,132 (18.6)	115 (15.3)
PSD-Santarém	2,209 (3.1)	29 (3.8)
PSD-Setúbal	1,209 (1.7)	18 (2.3)
PSD-Viana do Castelo	2,425 (3.4)	24 (3.2)
PSD-Vila Real	2,991 (4.2)	32 (4.2)
PSD-Viseu	1,769 (2.5)	29 (3.8)

PSD-Açores	1,031 (1.4)	30 (4)
PSD-Madeira	2,684 (3.8)	30 (4)
PSD-Europa	459 (0.6)	9 (1.1)
PSD-Fora Europa	1,354 (1.9)	9 (1.1)
Total	70,385	750

Own elaboration. PSD, *Povo Livre* n°1995, 20/12/2017, pp. 18-20, and n°1996, 3/1/2018 p. 3.

Likewise, the PSD-Porto and PSD-Lisbon stand out as the two largest structures, representing the 19% and 15% of the total number of delegates, i.e. nearly 35% of the total. Braga's and Aveiro's northern structures follow, with more than 7,000 members and 9-10% of delegates each. These four structures represent, alone, nearly 47% of the delegates and more than half of the active members. Then, most of the structures present a medium (e.g. PSD-Leiria) or medium-low size (e.g. PSD-Setúbal). Finally, there are structures with less than 1000 members (e.g. PSD-Castelo Branco), or even with less than 500 (PSD-Beja).

Basic units by structure

Beyond membership, the number of basic units is a relevant indicator of the party's local presence and organisational strength (Scarrow, 2000; Gabrow, 2001; Tavits, 2013). In Chapter 3 we have presented aggregate data showing that the PS holds a higher number of basic units, and thus its territorial extensiveness is higher compared to the PSD, which, on the other hand, displays a higher number of members. In this chapter we look at the distribution of the basic units by intermediate structure. This indicator also matters in terms of relative weight since the delegates ratio depends on the number of active members held by each local section (e.g. 1/60 members).¹¹⁷ The distribution of basic units has been assessed through the official information released by the parties during the pre-congressional phases.

¹¹⁷ Hence, the structures holding more local sections and less members are rewarded, to the detriment of those with more members but less local sections. The distortion mainly regards the PS, since in the PSD the delegates are elected by the council-level sections whose number by district structure tends to be more homogenous and the lowest basic units (sub-municipal level), differently from the PS, do not elect delegates.

The PS

In 2016, the PS counted 522 local sections distributed in the nineteen federations, and 53 shop-floor sections, the latter mainly concentrated in the PS-Lisboa (n=31) and PS-Porto (n=12).¹¹⁸ Still, only 65% of the 522 local sections were able to elect at least 1 delegate to the congress, whereas the number of delegates elected by shop-floor sections was irrelevant. The PS-Porto alongside the PS-Coimbra and the PS-Lisboa hold the highest number of local sections. Thus, in these federations the local presence is, at least formally, rather dense. The Porto federation has the highest number of sections electing delegates (78 out of 81); followed by Coimbra. The latter presents an extraordinary number of sections (n=86), although only 74% (n=64) of them elect delegates. The PS-Lisbon follows, with 47 local sections, 90% of which getting representation. On the other hand, the PS-Lisbon has the highest number of shop-floor sections (n=31). The remaining sixteen federations hold a lower number of sections, more or less corresponding with the councils present in the district. Few of them have sub-municipal sections with active members, mainly the PS-Aveiro (n=29) and the PS-Setúbal.

In terms of number of delegates elected, the PS-Braga, which has only few active sections (n=15), holds the largest section of the party with eighteen delegates elected to the national congress. In other words, this local unit is able to elect more delegates than the party's smaller federations. However, the system of allocation tends to penalise the concentration of members in few local sections. Thus, it could happen that federations with more active members, but less local sections elect a lower number of delegates to the national congress. This is exactly as the case of the PS-Braga. In this regard, proliferation of "paper" sections – created with the purpose to get delegates and to influence intra-party processes – may be fostered by such system.¹¹⁹

The PSD

The data released by the PSD in 2017 indicates that the party holds 278 local sections, distributed in the nineteen district-structures. Nearly 80% of the basic units elects at least one delegate to the national congress. Formally the party holds structures in most of the

¹¹⁸ The other federations holding shop-floor sections are Algarve (1); Braga (1); Castelo Branco (1); Coimbra (2); Setúbal (3); Vila Real (1).

¹¹⁹ Interview with MP, Pedro Delgado Alves, who was proponent of a motion to the XX National Congress endorsing the change in the system of allocation of the delegates. The motion was withdrawn by the proponent.

councils, still in some cases the local presence appears to be very weak. This is best exemplified by the cases of the PSD-Beja, PSD-Évora and PSD-Portalegre in the *Alentejo* region. Apparently, in these districts only few sections manage to elect a few delegates, while the other units are not able to get representation. This is not very surprising since in this region the party is traditionally weak. In the other sixteen district structures, there is more homogeneity, since most of the local sections elect delegates, albeit large variation exists. The sections electing the highest number of delegates are present in the PSD-Lisbon, with two sections alone getting 70 delegates. More in general, this data suggests organisational weakness and low members' mobilisation, with several local sections lacking the minimum number of active members required for electing at least a delegate and getting representation at the national level.

Beyond the general organisational weakness, what emerges is the within-party variation in both the PS and the PSD with basic units much stronger. This feature is acknowledged by the party officials interviewed who highlight the presence of internal imbalances, as follows:

«The structures are weekly organised, i.e. there are or very small, or very large *concelhias*. In my region we have three *concelhias* with nearly four hundred militants each, whereas the other twelve *concelhias* hold less than one hundred militants each. Consequently, three structures rule the region. Thus, there is a regional unbalance, and this has to do with local dynamics of regiment of militants» (M. Freitas, MP, PS-Algarve president, 2014).

5.1.3 Financial resources

In terms of financial resources, Chapter 3 has shown that both the PS and the PSD are highly based on public funding, and that that financial resource is directly allocated to the national party, which manages the subsidies. By contrast, in both parties the membership fees belong to the local sections in which the member is enrolled, and the party rules that govern this dimension are quite similar.

In the PS, the fees' payment is centralised and the rules prescribe it must be done by the member via ATM or bank transference to the national headquarters' account. The national level then transfers the fees to the section's account, which is controlled by the federation. Due to transparency reasons, different forms of payment (e.g. cheque) are

admitted only on an exceptional basis. The section only gets the value of the minimum fee, whereas any additional contribution to the minimum value is considered supplementary and is retained by the national headquarters, unless member's expressed opposition. Moreover, the national party has the right to retain 2/3 of the fees paid by the members with voting rights suspended who regularise their financial situation with the party.¹²⁰ The local sections are held accountable to the federations. The federations are funded by the national party, which allocate the funding depending on specific demands, electoral dimension and membership dimension. Therefore, they have not autonomous source of funding. Beyond the resources allocated from the party headquarters, the PS statutes recommend the MPs to contribute to the federation, but there is not obligation in this respect. From the interviews it has emerged that some federation presidents have established this practice.¹²¹ However, given that no obligation is set, it depends on the initiative of the different leaders who led the federation.

Likewise, the PSD territorial structures resort to members' fees, which are firstly collected by the central level and then transferred to the district and the local structures respectively. The national headquarters retains a share of the fees for administrative costs while the rest is transferred to the political committees of the district structures (1/3) and to the local sections (2/3). Fundraising activities must be expressly authorised by the secretary-general.¹²²

«The public funding is allocated to the national level. Then, there is a rule: 20% of the members' fees is assigned to the *distrital*. In addition, the national level may sustain some expenses, such as the staff and the rental contract, by giving a monthly subsidy for the payment of this type of expenses. However, the costs incurred by the *distrital* are low (the PSD-Braga has one fonctionnaire, most *distritais* do not have functionaries at all). The expenses incurred by the sections (council-level) are higher, since they organise events and support entirely the expenses»

(P. Cunha, mayor, and PSD-Braga president, 2014).

The strict formal rules and the irrelevance of members' fees to the party income – which is highly based on public funding in both parties – indicate the low financial autonomy of the

¹²⁰ PS, "Regulamento de quotas".

¹²¹ Interview with M. Freitas, MP and PS-Algarve president.

¹²² PSD (2014) "Regulamento Financeiro".

territorial structures, and the clear imbalance in power distribution in favour of the national level. The PSD appears to retain a lower part of members' fees compared to the PS, which by contrast seems slightly more centralised.

Resources' scarcity is stressed by the presidents interviewed and is perceived as a problem for the structures. Beyond the dependence from the higher level, this feature conditions the party functioning on-the-ground as well as activists' mobilisation during non-electoral periods.

«Beyond the fees, we have no funds. The financial situation is very difficult. When we need to carry out an activity we have to ask to the national. Fund-raising is infrequent, there is still a misconception about that. We have to work with what we have». (N. Serra, MP and PSD-Santarém president, 2014)

5.2 Functions and powers of the territorial structures

This section deals with the functions and powers carried out by the territorial structures. In particular, we focus on membership recruitment, and on a key institutional function, i.e. candidate selection, and compare the two parties. The final section narrows the analysis by focusing on the leadership.

5.2.1 Membership recruitment

As for membership recruitment, the local structures still have a key role as gatekeepers. While in the case of state-dependent and electoralist parties, like the PS and the PSD, membership's relevance for the national leadership is reduced, for the local level the control of this resource still plays a key role, for at least two reasons. Firstly, due to the aforementioned system of allocation of party posts and, secondly, due to its mobilisation in internal disputes, especially at the local level.

As shown in chapter 4, the relevance of this function for the local structures is best exemplified by the conflicts engendered by the national level's attempts to tighten the control on this domain, or by measures such as the membership record's update, which, in fact, the two parties have not implemented with the frequency formally required by their rules. The occasional emergence of malpractices at the local level, linked precisely to the local control on this function, may generate tensions with the national level due to the perception of the

negative effects on party image.¹²³ As such, the intervention on this domain tends to be justified by the need to improve internal transparency.¹²⁴

Both parties rule the affiliation process in the statutes and *ad hoc* regulations. Accordingly, the applicant member may join the party contacting directly the headquarters (e.g. via web page), without applying to the local structure. Nevertheless, the decision over the candidacy still competes to the local section, which communicates its decision to the party headquarters, being “the silence” considered as acceptance. In case of rejection, the applicant has the right to appeal before the national jurisdictional body. There are slight differences in the way the PS and PSD rule this process. In the former, the local structures’ autonomy seems more constrained. Firstly, the PS headquarters requires the local sections to present motivated reasons for opposing the entry, whereas more vagueness or ‘discretion’ is left to the PSD sections. Secondly, the PS local sections have only fifteen days to accept or reject the application request, vis-à-vis thirty days of the PSD ones. Afterwards the request is accepted. However, as for the PSD it is worth highlighting the reforms on this issue that the new leader, Rui Rio (2018-), is undertaking with the purpose of enhancing the central control. The most recent regulations approved by the National Council revise the system constraining local sections’ autonomy in deciding regarding the applications.¹²⁵

5.2.2 The selection of candidates for national and local public offices

This section focuses on the role played by the structures in the process, complementing the formal rules with information on the actual practices emerged from the interviews. In doing so, it intends to contribute to previous literature on this topic looking more in detail on the territorial structures.

¹²³ For instance, mass payments of the fees and control of pockets of votes by local notables (caciques) for influencing internal disputes. (see also chapter 8 for “caciquismo” practices).

¹²⁴ The requirements for applying may also indicate the party effort to make the process more transparent. The PS in 2012, under Seguro leadership, has undertaken such type of “minor” reforms (e.g. requirement of official data indicating the address of the applicant, official evidence of individual payment of the membership fee...). Interview with SNO, Miguel Larnjeiro (2014).

¹²⁵ The National Council has approved the new regulation in May 2018. Accordingly, the section which opposes the entry must expressly motivate the rejection and must decide within 3 days vis-à-vis the 30 days of the current rules. Beyond that, it extends from 3 months to 3 years the time for a member remaining enrolled in a section before migrating to another. This device is aimed at avoiding the transfer of members with the purpose of voting in internal elections.

The MPs candidate selection

The candidate selection (CS) process is one of the main indicators of power distribution between levels and of the degree of (de)centralisation (Lundell, 2004; Hazan and Rahat, 2010). In chapter 3 we have shown that the CS involves both the national and the sub-national levels, with the former having the ultimate decision. Therefore, in both parties, the procedure is still assembly-based.

The PS

The PS statutes set the power-sharing between the national party and the federations. The national political committee, on proposal of the secretary-general, fulfills and ranks 30% of the list, being the ratio calculated on the number of seats won by the party in each electoral constituency in the former legislative election. The secretary-general plays a prominent role in the process. The rest of the list competes to the federation political committee, which votes the candidates to be then presented to the national political committee which holds the final say on the lists and it may decide to take upon itself the decision on the candidacies. In fulfilling their share of the list, the federations are conditioned by the criteria established by the national political committee in the pre-selection phase (e.g. renovation, gender quota, ethic profile and so on). The non-compliance with the criteria may cause the rejection of the list proposed by the federation and high tensions between levels.¹²⁶ Although the national level's dominant position is clear, there exists room for negotiation between levels. In practice, the share reserved to the party directorate may be adapted to the federation's influence, as one of our interviewees explains:

«Generally, the Secretary-General chooses the 30% share through negotiation and conversation with the federation presidents and, therefore, I would say that the decision on the top-list candidate is the major competence of the Secretary-General. The choice [of the 30% quota] is done considering the evaluations made by the federation presidents and secretariats regarding the people who are closer to the district-structure and/or the party cadres and that for their competence, parliamentary experience, loyalty with the party leader, influence capacity, technical and specific competencies. Those are often appointed for number two

¹²⁶ See for instance: Público, “Direcção Nacional do PS recusa lista de Coimbra e inclui Rosario Gama” 20/07/2015 and “Direcção Nacional atenta as listas que não respeitam a representatividade do partido”.

or three in different lists. But, for my experience in the PS I would say that this work is carried out in articulation between the federations and the national [party]» (A. Gameiro, MP, PS-Santarém president, 2013).

The statutes do not mention the local structures (i.e. *concelhias*) in the process, which suggests a low degree of decentralisation at formal level. This feature may indicate autonomy on the part of the federation leadership in managing the process. Nevertheless, our interviews show that the local structures are *de facto* involved and that negotiations regarding the candidates take place. The list must in fact be previously voted in the federation bodies, where the *concelhias* are represented through their presidents. Factors, such as the weight in terms of membership or in terms of electorate in the different councils of the federations, are often taken into consideration and there is the attempt to balance the influence exercised by the local structures within the federation.¹²⁷

The PSD

The PSD statutes assign to the district-structure's political committee the power of drawing up the list after having audited the district assembly and the local sections. The list is then voted by the national political committee, and finally approved by the national council. In practice, however, the national level's role is more pronounced than that codified by the formal rules. Firstly, like the PS, the party executive sets the main principles regarding the candidacies. As such, it shapes the pre-selection phase. Secondly, the final approval competes to the national bodies. In this phase, the national political committee may reject the candidates proposed by the district-structures, triggering conflicts between levels. Conflicts are normally resolved by the party leader with the district presidents, before the list being presented to the national council for final ratification (Freire and Teixeira, 2012). Thirdly, the interviews confirm previous studies (Lobo, 2003: 263) about the key role of the party leader, even though this actor is not mentioned in the party statutes. The interviewees admit that the leader preserves the prerogative of choosing the top-list candidates. Yet, they also point out that this decision is generally done in coordination with the district structures.

¹²⁷ Interview with MP, P. Nuno Santos, PS-Aveiro president (2013).

At the same time, they observe that the coordination have not functioned well under the different party leaders, with more conflicts emerged in the past.

Overall, the process results from coordination between levels rather than separation. The national executive does not merely rubber-stamp the lists proposed by the structures, but it negotiates the candidates' position, and the district leaders play a key role in the way the process is carried out at the local level. Depending on who leads the district structure the candidate selection may function in different ways:

«A list with all the candidates ranked is released by the district political committee. The list is sent to the national bodies, which will try to change and bargain. Otherwise, a list with the candidates placed in alphabetical order is sent and it is delegated the decision about the ranking to the 'national'. The first method: the choice is more done by the district structure, and it identified the candidates with the interests of the district; the second way: it may define and identify the candidates with the country's interests. The former method gives more weight to the district structure, the latter gives more influence to the national. When the list is ranked by the district structure, we have a problem: within the political committee all the local leaders are represented, and the larger *concelhia* has the same weight as the smaller (i.e. one vote)» (MP, N. Serra, PSD-Santarém president 2014).

Therefore, in both the PS and PSD, the MPs candidate selection is shared. The PS ensures the national leadership the right to select and rank 30% of the lists, whereas the PSD does not set a similar provision. As such, the PS formally provides more power to the national level, whereas in the PSD the territorial structures seem to hold higher influence. In addition, only the PSD statutes establish the involvement of the local sections in the process. At the same time, in this party, the low codification of the process, especially the undefinition of the leader's role and prerogatives may make it easier for conflicts to emerge. The decision on top-lists has been retained by different leadership, in some cases provoking clashes with the district structures due to the imposition of top-list candidates. This seems to be especially true when the leader does not hold strong support within the territorial apparatus.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ See for instance the selection process under Ferreira Leite's leadership (2009).

Overall, in both the PS and the PSD the national level prevails. In the pre-selection phase, the party executive operates as a steering-agency setting the criteria for the list fulfillment and then approving the final lists. Informal practices complement the low codification of the process in the formal rules and may foster the accommodation of reciprocal influences between levels. In this respect, informality and the key role of the leaders in the process identified by previous analyses are confirmed (Freire, 2001; Lobo, 2003; Teixeira 2009; Freire and Teixeira, 2011).

The interviews shed light on the functioning of the process at the territorial level. Firstly, in drawing up the lists the structures are not entirely disconnected from the national level, but coordination and negotiation are the norm. The structures need in fact to have their list approved by the national bodies and the party leader would try to accommodate the influences of the structures avoiding the public exposure of conflicts. Authoritative intervention from the top is negatively perceived by the structures, but at the same time the high informality of the candidate process leaves the national with some room for maneuver. The national level has the final say and the leader retains clear prerogatives, especially in terms of eligible seats, but the structures' role is not marginal as in hierarchic systems. At the same time, a dynamic of 'checks and balances' rather than mutual autonomy, as stated by the strataarchical argument, better characterises these processes.

Secondly, variation in the way the different structures carry out the process on-the-ground emerges. This may depend on different local practices as well as on the decisions of the actors coordinating the process (i.e. federation/district presidents), indicating their autonomy. Due to the implications on political representation, further examinations on the way the candidate selection process is carried out at the territorial level would be needed.

The candidate selection for local office-holders

Local politics is a key arena for the territorial structures. Electoral mobilisation for local power, in particular, is the main goal of the two parties at the territorial level.

«Nowadays the work of local or regional organisations is completely different from the past. And if I can say that one of the objectives is still the mobilisation of the electors for our national struggles regarding the program of the party, the true is that large part of the local 'energies' are concentrated in the local electoral disputes. Thus, the *concelhias* of the PS consume large part of their energies in

local politics. This is the pattern, when they are in opposition as well as when they are in power» (P. N. Santos, MP, PS-Aveiro president 2013).

In both the PS and the PSD, party action in local elections is coordinated and supervised by the intermediate structures, while the selection of candidates for the executive and the deliberative bodies for both local government (municipality and parishes) is carried out by the sections at the council-level.

In the PS, the political committee of the *concelhia* is formally in charge of drawing up the list of candidates for the local elections. Yet, local autonomy is formally constrained by the statutory provisions that allow to the federation and the national political committee, under specific circumstances, to take upon themselves the decision on behalf of the local structures. Besides, the national directorate sets specific regulations for the local campaigns by defining general criteria to be followed by the local structures. In some case the guidelines may constrain the local structures' decisional power on this domain.

In practice, the selection of mayoral candidates in the district capitals or in the most important cities must have the approval of, or be negotiated with, the higher levels.¹²⁹ When there is not agreement, or the positions of the territorial structures diverge significantly from the preference of the national party, severe local-national conflicts may emerge, since the national party has the right to impose authoritative decisions.¹³⁰ In this process, the PS has recently experienced closed primaries for selecting the mayoral candidate, by including ordinary members in the process. In Chapter 8, we discuss in detail that experience applied for the 2013 local elections and its internal and external consequences.

In the case of the PSD, the statutes assign the power of proposing the list to the local section's political committee, specifying that it must consult the assemblies and political committees of the lowest units (i.e. the "nuclei"). Then, the proposal is made to the district political committee – where the local leaders take part as *ex-officio* – and as stated by one of our interviewees, the large majority of the lists are approved. Then, the final ratification of the mayoral candidates competes to the national political committee.

¹²⁹ Interview with Miguel Freitas, PS-Algarve, 2014.

¹³⁰ See for instance the conflict between the PS-Braga and the Deputy Secretary-General in "Expresso" online: «Revolta no PS contra Ana Catarina Mendes – Braga aprova moção de censura», 16/5/2017.

«The *Distrital* takes a leading role in the process and together with the *concelhia* choices the candidates. It evaluates the proposals made by the *concelhia* and then approves or rejects. In general, 98% of the proposals are approved» (P. Cunha, PSD-Braga, 2014).

Overall, although in both parties the national level may impose authoritative decisions, when questioned about the degree of autonomy of the territorial structures in managing these processes, the interviewees refer to hold large autonomy.

Finally, an interesting aspect emerged during the interviews regards the large share of independents who run under the party label. This feature reflects the absence of a significant membership base in both parties and, more in general, confirms the organisational weakness and the weak loyalties built on the ground.

«In my district there is a strong tradition of having independents in the lists for the local elections because in the south of the district the party is more fragile, is very weak, and we have difficulties in forming the lists in some councils of the south. In the south of the district we have councils where 90% of candidates are independents, there are lists for the *freguesia* (parish) where independents are 100%» (P. Nuno Santos, PS-Aveiro, 2013).

«There is no *concelhia* that has in its lists more than 15-20% party members for local elections. The rest of the list are made up of independents» (A. Gameiro, PS-Santarém, 2013).

5.3 The leadership. The PS federation presidents and the PSD district presidents

In this final section we focus on the actors that lead the territorial structures. This final section serves also as an introduction to the next two chapters (6 and 7), which are centered on the territorial leadership. As we contend, the federation and district presidents are crucial actors for exploring the party functioning at the territorial level and centre-periphery relations within the two parties. In both the PS and the PSD, the presidents represent the territorial structures through the *ex-officio* presence in the national deliberative bodies and

through regular meetings with the party leadership.¹³¹ The federation presidents are *ex-officio* members of the national congress, the national committee and the national political committee, whereas the PSD district presidents are *ex-officio* members of the national council. Differently from the PS, they attend the national congress without exercising voting rights, due to the entirely elective composition of this body in the PSD. On the other hand, they are excluded from the highest executive body, i.e. the PS national secretariat, and the PSD national political committee. This is an important aspect, since being formally represented in the highest executive body is an indicator of the territorial structures' involvement at the higher level (Fabre, 2010), and a counterweight of power "verticalization" (Ignazi and Pizzimenti, 2014). Therefore, the absence of representation in the executive bodies may indicate low influence capacity.¹³² However, on this aspect the two parties present different patterns. As referred in chapter 4, following Ferro Rodrigues' reform (2002), the PS prohibits the accumulation of executive offices. As such, the federation presidents cannot be concomitantly member of the national secretariat. By contrast, in the case of the PSD, there is not a similar provision, and there have been several cases of district presidents being members of the national political committee (e.g. under Barroso, Passos Coelho, Rio).

An important element ensuring these actors a central role within the territorial organisation is the direct election. In both parties, the territorial leaders have always been chosen autonomously. The selection method has changed in the second half of the 1990s, shifting from the election by the local assemblies to the direct election by the members. The change has enhanced the position of the president within the structure, in terms of powers (e.g. composition of the executives, management of the organisation and the party functions at the local level) and legitimacy, fostering processes of personalisation of the territorial structures, as well as the building of personalised linkages with the national leadership.

At the formal level, the federation presidents' position is stronger than that of the PSD district presidents. Firstly, they are unipersonal bodies, holding the right to attend and vote in all the federation bodies' meetings (7). Moreover, the federation presidents are elected in an uninominal list, encouraging the perception of a "personal" mandate. Finally,

¹³¹ The statutes of the PS (2015) and the PSD (2012) prescribe that the party leader shall meet regularly with the presidents (joint meetings). The frequency varies, being more frequent in the PSD (every two months) than the PS (every three months). In practice the compliance with this rule has varied in both parties, being influenced by the specific context faced by the party.

¹³² Conversely, the Azores and Madeira regional structures of both the PS and the PSD are represented in the party highest executive body by their presidents.

the formal rules allows them longer longevity in office since they may be reselected for four terms (eight years) vis-à-vis the three terms (six years) of the PSD district-structures presidents. In chapters 6 (PS) and 7 (PSD) we will return on these observations more in detail through the in-depth analysis of the leadership selections.

Conclusion

This chapter has described in broad outline the main characteristics of the territorial structures, presenting their internal configuration, resources, and main competences. It has shown different aspects. Firstly, the territorial structures are organizationally weak and under-financed. Their financial autonomy lies in a scarce resource, membership fees. The national control, occurred over time on this resource, has further constrained their autonomy. Still, active members have a crucial relevance as a resource of influence, to be mobilised in internal disputes and due to the allocation of party posts. This aspect explains the strong resistance of the structures towards centralising attempts on the affiliation process. “Perverse” effects entailed in this system are the closeness of the structures and the entrenchment of local personalistic factions. Secondly, the territorial structures should not be conceived as a homogenous entity within the party, since there are important within-party variations, which may influence internal dynamics and, as demonstrated by Tavits (2013) may explain the electoral performance of the same party across different districts. Thirdly, it has shown that the territorial leaders are important actors in governing the processes at the territorial level and in the way the institutional functions, namely candidate selection, is carried out across the different party structures.

Chapter VI

The territorial leadership in the PS. The federation presidents' selection

The present chapter focuses on the PS territorial structures by analysing the federation presidents' selection. The next chapter applies the same analysis to the case of the PSD district presidents. As chapter 5 has shown, these actors are crucial for linking the territorial organisation with the party at the national level, and for carrying out important functions, such as the MPs candidate selection and the coordination of party strategy in local elections. This chapter and the next follow a similar structure. Firstly, the reform introducing the direct election of the federation/district presidents is described together with the main rules governing the process. Then, the empirical analysis investigates the main characteristics of these internal elections focusing on the degree of competitiveness, turnover, and overlap with public offices. We contend that the analysis of the territorial leadership sheds light on under-explored aspects of the territorial organisation, which have impacts on the party as a whole. Firstly, because it provides insights on the processes of personalisation and leadership-centredness, based on the increased power of individual actors vis-à-vis collective bodies, as hypothesised at the beginning of this study. Secondly, given that the selections are analysed taking into consideration the national context (institutional status and national leadership) the analysis seeks to understand whether and to what extent dynamics related with the national level emerge. Finally, the analysis provides insights on members' inclusion and intra-party democracy in decisional processes at lower levels of party organisation.

6.1 The federation presidents. Reform and rules of the selection method

The selection method for the federations' leadership was reformed in 1998 with the introduction of the direct election by members. The reform was aimed at strengthening federation presidents' position in leading the territorial organisation. Initially, the federations' leaders had their powers barely constrained: the rules did not set a *maximum* number of terms or limits to office accumulation (PS, 1998). These aspects were then addressed by the statutory reform carried out by Ferro Rodrigues in 2002. Thus, specific provisions aimed at stimulating renewal and elites' circulation and at hindering the expansion of the presidents' powers, increased under the Guterres' leadership, were

introduced.¹³³ Firstly, by setting the term limit to four consecutive terms (no retroactive) and, secondly, by forbidding the overlap of federation presidency with other executive offices, i.e. the national secretariat. Then, organisational reforms addressing the federation presidents' selection re-emerged only in 2012, with the reform carried out by António José Seguro, who extended to four years the elective bodies' term in order to synchronise their duration with the legislature and reduce party instability caused by internal disputes held in the middle of a legislative cycle.¹³⁴ Yet, these changes were short-lived, being withdrawn only three years after by the new Secretary-General, António Costa.

In terms of formal rules, the selection process is governed by the regulations defined at the national level which set the requirements needed to elect (i.e. the selectorate) and to be elected (i.e. the candidacy). As for the former, a minimum membership seniority and the payment of the party dues are to be fulfilled by the members for them to be able to vote. As for the candidacy, it is necessary the formal endorsement (i.e. signatures) by a defined number of members. The financing of the campaign is entirely supported by the candidate, who is accountable to the party for the expenses.¹³⁵ Other (apparently minor) rules set the period of time within which the members have to pay the dues for exercising the voting rights and for the party headquarters to close members' register and define the final number of members entitled to vote. These rules have been often changed, and in both parties are a rather contentious issue. In fact, stretching the limit closer to the date of the election or, by contrast, closing the registers much earlier, affects the mobilisation for gathering votes on behalf of rival candidates.

Table 6.1 sums up the main rules and the changes occurred over time under different leadership.

¹³³ Interview with M. Coelho, former president of PS-Lisboa council-structure and supporter of the reform.

¹³⁴ Público: «Seguro quer sincronizar mandatos internos do PS com os ciclos eleitorais», 23/3/2012.

¹³⁵ Note that in the Portuguese case the intra-party elections are not financed by public funding.

Table 6.1 Rules for the federation presidents' selection

Party Leader	Organisational Reform	Selectorate	Candidacy
António Guterres	Direct election of the federation presidents by the members with electoral capacity (1998)	Membership seniority: 6 months. Payment of membership fees.	Membership seniority: 18 months. Payment of membership fees. Endorsement of 2.5% members.
Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues	Introduction of term limit: 4 consecutive mandates. Executive offices accumulation forbidden (2002)	Unchanged	Membership seniority: 6 months. Payment of membership fees. Endorsement of 2% members or 80 members.
José Sócrates		Unchanged	Unchanged
António José Seguro	Elections to be held every 4 years (2012)	Membership seniority: 12 months. Payment of membership fees.	Membership seniority: 12 months. Payment of membership fees. Endorsement of 100 members
António Costa	Reintroduction of the elections every 2 years (2015)	Membership seniority: 6 months. Payment of membership fees	Membership seniority: 6 months. Payment of membership fees. Endorsement of 100 members

Source: own elaboration. PS Statutes and Internal Regulations; «Regulamento para a eleição do Presidente da Federação» in “Acção Socialista” n°1185, 30/1/2003, p.19; «Regulamento eleitoral do Presidente da Federação» in “Acção Socialista” n° 1388, Junho/Julho 2014, p. 12.

As table 6.1 shows, under Ferro Rodrigues the seniority membership for running as candidate was reduced from 18 to 6 months. The change was consistent with the process of renewal aimed at improving the participation of the newer and younger members to the party leading bodies. This requirement was then doubled by Seguro with the purpose of strengthening internal transparency by counteracting malpractices such as the control of pockets of votes and “strategic” enrollments. However, the six months’ membership seniority was reestablished by Costa. The candidacy’s endorsement has followed two main criteria, the collection of members’ signatures, corresponding to 2.5% or 2% of the

federation's membership size or, since 2012, the collection of a given number of signatures, regardless the federation dimension. The latter system may disincentive the competitiveness of the contests in smaller federations with only some hundreds of dues-paying members (e.g. PS-Vila Real, PS-Portalegre). Hence, compared to the larger federations, the emergence of more than one candidate would require a greater organisational effort.

6.2 Empirical analysis, 2003-2016

In this section we present the main findings of the empirical analysis carried out on 133 selections held between 2003 and 2016 in the 19 party federations. Due to missing data the races held in 1998 and in 2000 have been excluded from the empirical analysis. Hence, the analysis covers 77% of the selections. The source is the original database of intra-party elections we built specifically for this study. The empirical analysis explores three dimensions: the degree of competitiveness, the turnover and the federation president's overlap with public office. Even though it has not been possible to analyse the participation rates due to data availability and reliability, the characteristics and dynamics of the selections may provide insights on the real opportunities for members to participate or to merely rubber-stamp a candidacy.

Table 6.2 provides the main information on the context in which the direct selections have taken place, the party leader in office and the party's institutional status.

Table 6.2. National context of the federation presidents' selections

Round of selections	Party leader	Institutional status
1998	António Guterres	Government
2000	António Guterres	Government
2003	Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues	Opposition
2006	José Sócrates	Government
2008	José Sócrates	Government
2010	José Sócrates	Government
2012	António José Seguro	Opposition
2014	António José Seguro	Opposition
2016	António Costa	Government

Source: own elaboration. The round scheduled for 2005 was postponed by Sócrates due to the early legislative elections.

An important characteristic of these races is the fact that they take place synchronically in all the federations. Beyond the president, the members also elect, in a separate ballot paper, the delegates to the federation congress.

6.2.1 The degree of competitiveness

This section analyses the degree of competitiveness of the selections. To this aim two indicators are considered: (1) the number of candidates, (2) the margin of victory between the top two finishers. These two indicators are broadly applied by literature on party leadership selection (e.g. Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer, 2016: 64-65). Building on these studies, we have classified as “coronation” or “uncontested selection” the race where there is only one candidate stepping forward. Conversely, when more than one candidate runs for the office we define the race a “contested selection”. In this case the second indicator of competitiveness, the margin of victory, is analysed. This measure enables us to assess the closeness of each race.

The number of candidates: coronations or contested selections?

In this section we first present the average data and the results disaggregated by round of selection and then by federation. Table 6.3 shows that on average “coronations” tend to be more frequent than “contested” selections, with single-candidate selections representing 62.4% of the observations, whereas only 37.5% involve more than one candidate.

This finding indicates that, on average, the federation presidents’ selection is characterised by a low degree of competition, as more than 60% of the selections are uncontested.

Table 6.3 Frequency of coronations and contested selections, 2003-2016

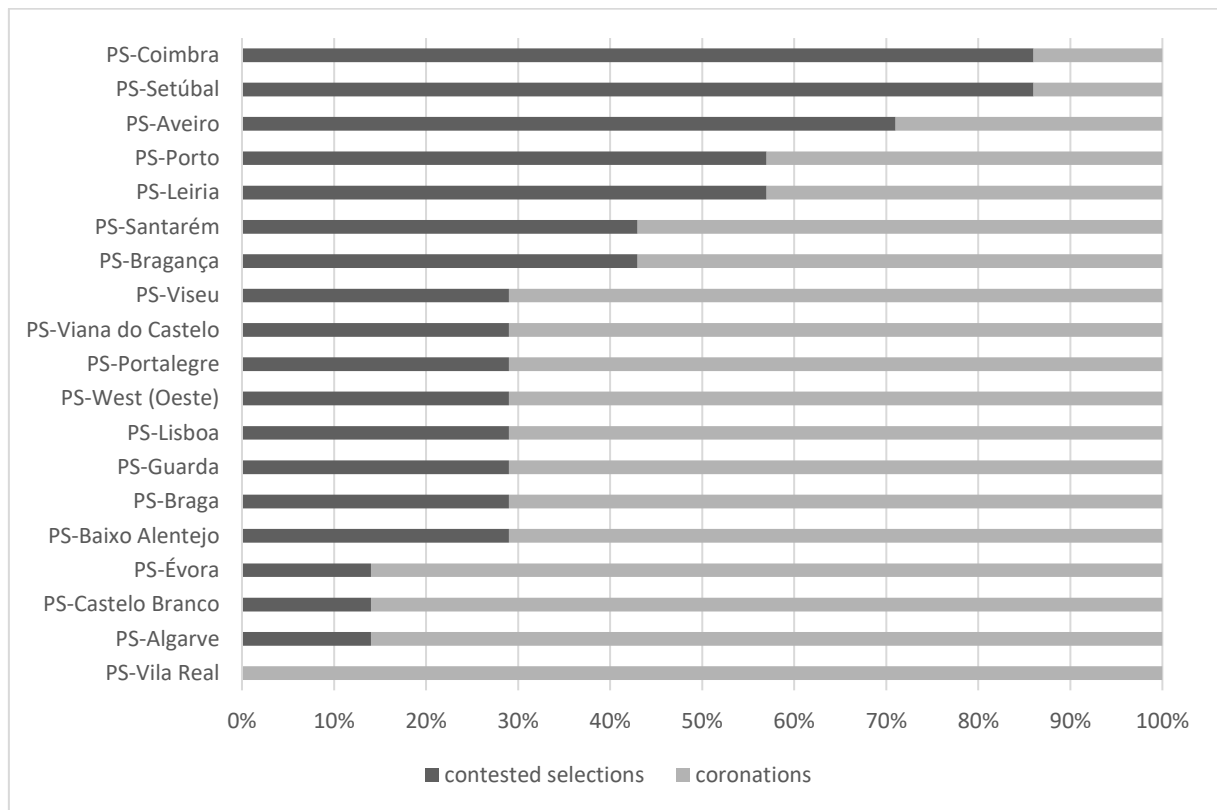
Selection Year	Coronations single-candidate	Contested selections +1 candidate
2003	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.3%)
2006	11 (57.8%)	8 (42.1%)
2008	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.0%)
2010	14 (73.6%)	5 (26.3%)
2012	11 (57.8%)	8 (42.1%)
2014	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.1%)
2016	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.0%)
Average	83 (62.4%)	50 (37.5%)

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Looking at this indicator by round of selection we see that coronations prevail over the contested selections in six rounds. Competitiveness is particularly low in two cases, in 2008 and 2016, when 15 out of 19 party federations hold single-candidate selections. The outlier is the round that took place in 2014.

Narrowing the analysis at the federation level the picture is far from uniform and considerable differences across the nineteen federations on this dimension are found. As figure 6.1 shows, some PS federations display a well-established pattern of single-candidate selections. This occurs, for instance, in the PS-Algarve, PS-Castelo Branco and PS-Évora federations. The most extreme case is the norther federation of PS-Vila Real, with all rounds being uncontested. Conversely, other federations present a pattern of high competitiveness as most of the races are disputed by more than one candidate, such as in the cases of the PS-Coimbra and PS-Setúbal. Yet, only in 5 out of 19 federations more than half of the races have been disputed by at least two candidates, i.e. the PS-Aveiro, PS-Coimbra, PS-Leiria, PS-Setúbal and the largest party federation, the PS-Porto.

Figure 6.1. Degree of competitiveness by PS federation, 2003-2016



Source: own data set of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

The rate of closeness

We now analyse the second indicator of competitiveness, the rate of closeness measured by the margin of victory achieved by the winner. Hence, the analysis is restricted to the selections that have been contested by more than one candidate. One case (PS-Baixo Alentejo 2003) has been withdrawn due to uncomplete data, thus we remain with 49 cases. The closeness of the races has been classified following the index applied by Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer (2016). Based on that, we have coded as ‘tight’ the races where the margin is lower than 10 percentage points, ‘close’ when lies between 10 and 25, ‘moderate’ between 25 and 50, and ‘uncompetitive’ when is higher than 50 percentage points. We show the results in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Frequency of tight, close, moderate and uncompetitive selections, 2003-2016

Rate of closeness	Frequency
Tight races (<10)	15 30.6%
Close races (10 – 25)	15 30.6%
Moderate races (25 – 50)	11 22.4%
Uncompetitive races (> 50)	8 16.3%
N	49

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

In nearly one-third of the races (30.6%) the rate of closeness is very high, with a tight margin of victory for the winner. When ‘tight’ and ‘close’ races are added up, it turns out that in nearly two-third of the selections (61.2%) the margin between the first and the second place has been lower than 25 percentage points of the votes. Furthermore, the average margin of the ‘close races’ is rather low: 15.8 percentage points. Uncompetitive selections are quite rare (16.3%). Hence, aggregate findings indicate that when the selections are contested these tend to be rather competitive, and that the challengers develop an organised work on the ground to mobilise members in their favour.

The distribution of this indicator by round of selection shows that in both 2008 and 2016 the degree of competitiveness is rather low since, on average, the (few) contested races held in those two years are uncompetitive or moderately competitive. Conversely, high competitiveness is found in the 2003 and 2014 rounds of selections. This finding suggests that the emergence of competitive candidacies, with candidates able to organise support and mobilisation and with realistic possibilities to contend, tends to occur more frequently in correspondence of specific phases, such as the leadership change and the opposition status. The more vulnerability of the party leader in these phases, or the need to reshape the territorial configuration of power, may be possible explanations for these dynamics. We return on this point later on.

We now narrow the analysis at the federation level. As explained previously, the nineteen federations display different patterns in terms of coronation vis-à-vis contested

selections. Consequently, this difference is reflected in the analysis of the second indicator, i.e. the margin of victory, by federation. Table 6.5 maps the degree of competitiveness of the contested selections by federation.

Table 6.5 Frequency of tight, close, moderate and uncompetitive selections by federation, 2003-2016

Federation	Tight (<10%)	Close (10%- 25%)	Moderate (25%-50%)	Uncompetitive (>50%)	N
PS-Algarve	1				1
PS-Aveiro	1	1	1	2	5
PS/Baixo A.	1				1
PS-Braga	1	1			2
PS-Bragança	1	2			3
PS/Castelo B		1			1
PS-Coimbra	2	3	1		6
PS-Évora			1		1
PS-Guarda	1			1	2
PS-Leiria	1	1	2		4
PS-Lisboa	1			1	2
PS/West(<i>Oeste</i>)			2		2
PS/Portalegre	1			1	2
PS-Porto	2	1		1	4
PS-Santarém			3		3
PS-Setúbal	3		2	1	6
PS-Viana do C.		1	1		2
PS-Vila Real					-
PS-Viseu			1	1	2

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

The findings at the party federation level does not show a clear pattern. In fact, there are cases where the selections are rarely disputed, being the single-candidate elections the rule or, when disputed, the races display a low degree of competitiveness (e.g. PS-Évora, PS-Oeste, and PS-Viseu). In other cases, the (few) disputed selections have been competitive (e.g. PS-Castelo Branco, PS-Braga, PS-Santarém). Conversely, there are federations displaying high competitiveness, both in terms of number of disputed selections and in terms of rate of closeness. However, these cases seem to be outliers, such as the PS-Coimbra, or, to a lesser extent the PS-Setúbal, suggesting the role played by factional dynamics at the local level for the control of the federation. So, at the federation level different patterns emerge: from federations that rank low in both indicators to federations that rank high in both indicators. The territorial variation is important since it indicates that, within the same

party, the members may make different experiences of the internal processes depending on the territorial structure they are enrolled in.

6.3 Institutional status, leadership change, and competitiveness

The descriptive analysis presented in the previous sections has shown that on average the selections are characterised by a pattern of low competitiveness, with nearly 63% of single-candidate selections held during the overall period considered. Table 6.3 shows that this pattern is more apparent when the PS is incumbent (2005-2011, 2016). This is best exemplified by the round of selection that took place in 2008, when nearly 80% of the races were run by single-candidates. In only four federations were the members presented with a choice between alternative candidates (i.e. PS-Aveiro, PS-Coimbra, PS-Guarda, PS-Porto). Moreover, the rate of closeness shows that the margin of victory is higher than 50% indicating the non-competitiveness of the races and the predictable victory of the “institutional” candidate.¹³⁶ Hence, behind those challenges there was not an organised work to overturn the federations with a candidacy with realistic chances to seize the power. Moreover, as we will show afterwards, the 2008 round of selection also generated the lowest degree of turnover. In several cases, in fact, to be reselected are the incumbent presidents without facing competition. The unity and continuity of the party’s territorial apparatus is in this phase very pronounced. In the specific case of the round of 2008, party organisation’s cohesion could have been further enhanced by the upcoming electoral struggles, with the legislative and local elections both scheduled for 2009.

Likewise, low competitiveness characterises the selections held in 2016, under António Costa as party leader and Prime-Minister. The federation presidents are predominantly selected in coronations (nearly 80%). Beyond that, two features of this round must be stressed. Firstly, most of the 15 single-candidate selections present ‘institutional’ candidates, i.e. identified with, or endorsed, by the leader. Secondly, in the four cases where a competition between candidates takes place (PS-Évora, PS-Leiria, PS-Setúbal and PS-Viana do Castelo), the margin of victory indicates that on average, the races were rather uncompetitive, except for the case of the PS-Leiria.

¹³⁶ In the case of the PS-Coimbra and PS-Porto there is a challenge to the incumbent leaders who managed to keep the office. The challenges seem to be ensued in local dynamics.

In terms of context, there are similarities between 2008 and 2016: the PS is in government and electoral struggles are approaching, i.e. local elections in 2017. Likewise, they suggest that the party leadership has his internal power consolidated. The 2016 round follows the resolution of the struggle between Costa and Seguro in 2014 which pushed the reshaping of power configuration at the territorial level, with federation presidents closer to the new party directorate. This contributed to the leader's internal power consolidation through the control of the territorial apparatus.

Compared to the PS in government under Sócrates, in this case there is an important novelty. The PS forms a minority government with the parliamentary support of the BE, PCP and PEV, with which the party negotiates agreements on specific policy issues. Therefore, in such a context the cohesiveness of the party organisation may be even more crucial for the leadership. Although the latest round of selection (2018) has not been analysed for this study, preliminary observations confirm the pattern of low competitiveness under governmental status and leadership stability, with approximately 74% of single-candidate selections.

What may explain this finding is that the governmental status fosters intra-party cohesion neutralising or reducing the emergence of challenges, or competitive candidates, for top positions in the party apparatus. The relevance of the institutional position is consistent with previous studies which have highlighted the members' demobilisation when the PS is in government (Lisi, 2011: 233). The absence of competition is in itself a factor reducing members' participation. More in general, the finding is in line with cross-country studies that have found a correlation between incumbency and decreasing competitiveness in party leadership selection (Cross and Pilet 2014; Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer, 2016). Differently from those analyses, focused on the national level, we found that incumbency and leadership stability - which is on turn fostered by the occupation of power- seem to discourage the emergence of conflicts also at the lower organisational levels and to pressure the territorial apparatus towards a unitary and cohesive action. There is a reciprocal advantage on that. On the one hand, it ensures the party leader and prime minister to have the power within the organisation consolidated, and the structures led by loyal actors which ensure the aggregation of support and consensus towards the governmental power.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the territorial leaders manage in autonomy the organisation and the resources

¹³⁷ A. Costa (2016) «As concelhias e as federações sejam o esteio do poder governativo» (The local structures and the federations have to be the support of the governmental power). Declaration to the press when presenting the motion to the 21st congress. Source: PS website.

provided by their position within the party. This may suggest, contrary to the presidentialisation thesis, that the leader is still interested to have the party apparatus under control, also when incumbent and his or her power is based on the electoral appeal.

The opposite scenario occurs in 2014, when the selections display the highest rate of competitiveness. This is the only round in which the contested selections exceed the coronations. Challenges take place in 63% of the cases (12) with an average margin of victory of nearly 24 percentage points. Most of the disputes have been ‘close’ or ‘tight’, while only one-third have been ‘moderate’ or ‘uncompetitive’. Overall, the rate of competitiveness is rather high making the intra-party elections held in this phase an interesting outlier. The 2014 selections took place in the middle of the Seguro-Costa conflict, only few weeks before the open primaries for the Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2015 elections. Even though the selectorate of the two types of elections was substantially different, the results in the federations were indicative of the degree of support held by the two candidates within the party apparatus.¹³⁸ In fact, in almost all the federations the races were polarised around the ‘national’ challenge, with a clear cleavage between candidates to the federation supporting the incumbent secretary-general vis-à-vis candidates supporting the challenger.

Apparently, national-level internal struggle had a crucial role in encouraging the emergence of challenges even in federations traditionally low competitive. In terms of number of federations, the results were in favour of Costa, since candidates endorsing him were elected in 10 out of 19 federations and in most of the contested selections.¹³⁹ The round set the basis for the power reconfiguration at the territorial level, which was then confirmed in 2016, and was a first indicator of Costa’s future election as secretary-general. This seems to be the main determinant behind the outcomes of the federation selections. This round, specifically, is illustrative of the mobilisation of the organisation, and the territorial structures in particular, in the context of struggles between personalistic factions. The struggle is on turn triggered by the opposition status and by the different perceptions about

¹³⁸ While for the federations were admitted voting only the dues-paying members with at least 12 months of membership, the primaries for the PM candidate were opened to all the party members regardless the membership length and financial situation, plus the party sympathisers and supporters registered for voting in this specific competition. An in-depth analysis of the open primaries is carried out in chapter 8.

¹³⁹ PS-Aveiro (Costa), PS-Bragança (Seguro), PS-Braga (Costa), PS-Castelo Branco (Costa), PS-Coimbra (Seguro), PS-Leiria (Costa), PS-Lisboa (Costa), PS-Oeste (Costa), PS-Santarém (Seguro), PS-Setúbal (Costa), PS-Viseu (Seguro). In the PS-Viana de Castelo Federation the 2 candidates were both supporters of Seguro.

the leader with better chances (due to his popularity within electors) to bring the PS back in power.

The fact that the opposition status tends to coincide with the leadership change may imply that the higher competitiveness and more competitive candidates found in this phase are the effect of the new leader's attempt to consolidate his power by means of a renewal of the structures with loyal actors. In this regard, the analysis of the turnover carried out in the following section may provide further insights.

6.4 Continuity and renewal

The present section explores the degree of renewal of the federation leadership by analysing the degree of turnover. This indicator measures the seniority in office of these actors, which in the PS is limited to 8 consecutive years due to party rules. In our view, presidents that remain in office all the terms show a strong capacity of control over the organisation and autonomy. The empirical analysis considers the turnover by round of selection and by federation, to see whether differences on this indicator emerge during specific phases or in certain areas more than others. The analysis is complemented with the degree of competitiveness for exploring to what extent the turnover is the result of a contested or uncontested race.

Table 6.6 shows the turnover rate during the overall period and by round of selection. Column three lists those cases in which the new president has already been in charge of the office, which in our view indicates a “false” renewal and strategic behaviours on the part of the elites. New federation presidents are selected in 54 cases, i.e. 40.6%. In 8 of them the winner had already held the office, being this occurrence more pronounced in 2014. In 13 cases (24%) the turnover is due to the term limit. In the remaining 79 cases (59.3%) the incumbents are reselected.¹⁴⁰

The highest rate of turnover takes place in 2012, when new presidents are elected in more than half of the cases, i.e. 52.6%. At the national level, this round follows the leadership change and the election of Seguro as Secretary-General. Conversely, the lowest rate, 21%,

¹⁴⁰ As for the selections held in 2003 and 2006 our data are slightly different from those referred in a previous study (Lisi, 2009). This difference is probably due to the different way in which turnover is considered in 2006 since in this case two presidents resign to integrate the national secretariat in 2004. This led to an interim which has been then competed. We calculate this case as turnover.

is found in the selections held in 2008 with the aforementioned four federations changing their presidents.

Table 6.6. Turnover rate by round, 2003-2016

Round of Selection	Turnover Rate	Former Presidents Reselected
2003	7 (36.8%)	-
2006	9 (47.3%)	-
2008	4 (21%)	1
2010	7 (36.8%)	1
2012	10 (52.6%)	1
2014	9 (47.3%)	4
2016	8 (42%)	1
Average	54 (40.6%)	8

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Narrowing the analysis by federation a large variation in the number of leadership changes emerges. Table 6.7 shows the number of turnover experienced in the different federations during the overall period.

Table 6.7. Turnover rate by federation, 2003-2016

Party federations	Number of Turnover
PS-Baixo Alentejo	1
PS-Algarve, PS-Braga, PS-Castelo Branco, PS-Guarda, PS-Lisboa, PS-Viana do Castelo, PS-Vila Real, PS-Viseu	2
PS-Aveiro, PS-Bragança, PS-Coimbra, PS-Leiria, PS-Portalegre	3
PS-Oeste/West, PS-Porto, PS-Santarém	4
PS-Évora, PS-Setúbal	5

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

For instance, in the PS-Évora and the PS-Setúbal the turnover is very high with 5 presidents changed in 7 selections, whereas the lowest turnover rate is found in the small federation of PS-Baixo Alentejo, with only 1 turnover. The turnover experienced by the other federations varies, but 2-3 leader changes tend to be the norm in most of the federations.

However, the turnover may be a tricky indicator. For instance, although apparently the PS-Évora and PS-Setúbal federations show the same degree of turnover, the two cases are

substantially different. While in the former the new presidents are mainly selected in coronation, in the latter leadership change tends to be the result of a contest among new candidates or against the incumbent president. Conversely, in the PS-Baixo Alentejo, together with the low rate of turnover, we find a pattern of uncontested reselection of the incumbent president. Hence, they suggest the presence of territorial diversities within the party.

These observations make it particularly interesting to explore more in depth the different characteristics of the leadership change in each structure, and to what extent it is the outcome of a disputed selection or a coronation. This analysis may provide insights on intra-party dynamics at the territorial level, such as to what extent incumbent presidents are challenged, to what extent they succeed in keeping the office, whether a real competition takes places or whether leadership change is an ‘elite controlled’ process. Table. 6.8 shows the findings.

Table 6.8 Continuity, turnover and competitiveness, 2003-2016

	Continuity	Turnover
Coronations	60 (76%)	23 (42.6%)
Contested selections	19 (24%)	31 (57.4%)
N=133 (%)	79 (59,3%)	54 (40,6%)

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Some observations can be made. Firstly, in a considerable number of cases the incumbents are reselected in uncontested races (76%). This means that, once they get into office, the presidents tend to keep it safely. Moreover, when challenged by other candidates, their rate of success is high. During the period analysed there have been n=27 challenges to the incumbent presidents and they won in 70% of the cases. In this regard, the control of the organisation, ensured by the incumbency, might represent an important resource. Secondly, the turnover is in most of the cases the result of a disputed selection (57.4%), included the incumbent president’s defeat by a challenger (n=8 observations).¹⁴¹ More in general, this is consistent with the expectation that, when the office is at stake (e.g. whether the incumbent

¹⁴¹ Among the cases classified as “disputed turnover” (31), in 8 cases the incumbent is defeated, in the remaining (23) the new president is selected in a race confronting new candidates.

steps down, or is forbidden to run due to term limit), the number of competitors increases. Yet, the number of cases in which new presidents are selected in coronation is rather high (42.6%), which indicates that the turnover is the result of an elite-controlled process to be ratified by members' vote.

In table 6.9. we disaggregate the cases by round.¹⁴²

Table 6.9. Turnover and competitiveness by round, 2003-2016

Round of selections	Turnover rate	Coronations	Contested selections
2003	7 (36.8%)	1	6
2006	9 (47.3%)	5	4
2008	4 (21%)	3	1
2010	7 (36.8%)	4	3
2012	10 (52.6%)	4	6
2014	9 (47.3%)	2	7
2016	8 (42%)	4	4

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

In 2003 the term limit does not show its effects due to the non-retroactivity of the new rule. This explains why federation presidents in power since the early 1990s could still run for the office (e.g. Braga, Bragança, Viana do Castelo, Viseu). The new presidents are mainly selected in competitive selection and tight races. Overall, this round reshaped the internal power at the territorial level in favour of the recently elected leader, Ferro Rodrigues, for whom the outcome of these elections was an evidence of members' support towards the plan

¹⁴² Data by federation as follows: in 2003 contested in: PS-Algarve; PS-Aveiro PS-Coimbra; PS-Porto (incumbent defeat), PS-Santarém, PS-Setúbal, (incumbent defeat), coronation (PS-Lisboa); 2006: contested: PS-Leiria (term limit), PS-West (Oeste), PS-Santarém; PS-Setúbal (incumbent defeat); coronations: PS-Aveiro, PS-Castelo Branco (term limit), PS-Évora, PS-Porto, PS-Vila Real; 2008: contested: PS-Guarda; coronations: PS-West (Oeste); PS-Portalegre (term limit); PS-Santarém; 2010: contested: PS-Aveiro; PS-Coimbra (incumbent defeat); PS-Lisboa (incumbent defeat); coronations: PS-Évora, PS-Portalegre, PS-Viana do Castelo (term limit), PS-Viseu (term limit); 2012: contested: PS-Baixo Alentejo (term limit), PS-Bragança (term limit), PS-Coimbra (incumbent defeat), PS-Portalegre (incumbent defeat), PS-Porto, PS-Setúbal; coronations: Algarve (term limit), PS-Braga (term limit), PS-Évora, PS-Santarém; 2014: contested: PS-Bragança, PS-Braga, PS-Castelo Branco (term limit), PS-Leiria (term limit), PS-West (Oeste), PS-Setúbal (incumbent defeat), PS-Viseu; coronations: PS-Évora, PS-Vila Real (term limit); 2016: contested: PS-Évora, PS-Leiria, PS-Setúbal, PS-Viana do Castelo coronations: PS-Bragança, PS-Guarda (term limit), PS-West (Oeste), PS-Porto.

of party's renewal and the program of political reforms (i.e. limitation of the terms in public offices at the local level).¹⁴³ The reconfiguration is best exemplified by the case of the largest federation, PS-Porto, where the incumbent president and mayor of an important town-hall is defeated.¹⁴⁴

In the next round, in 2006, the turnover is higher. Yet, there are more coronations, and above all the contested selections display a low degree of competitiveness. Hence, the renewal seems to occur in a consensual internal context. The only case of tight race (PS-Setúbal) signals a change in favour of the new party leadership, with the incumbent defeated by a candidate close to the new secretary-general. The context is in fact radically different from that of 2003, the PS is led since 2004 by a new leader (Sócrates) and is government since 2005.

As mentioned previously, continuity and stability characterise the 2008 round of selections. Only four federations change their leader and in one case, the PS-Portalegre, the turnover was compulsory. Furthermore, we have found that in three cases the new presidents are selected without facing competition and in the remaining case the race is uncompetitive. The following round (2010) was held under the same party leadership and the same institutional status. The PS was in fact reconfirmed in government after the 2009 general elections albeit this time without the absolute majority. The turnover rate increases, however, the outcomes do not necessarily indicate a reconfiguration of the territorial leaderships in a direction which is hostile to the party leader and Prime-Minister. Rather, in the important federation of Lisbon the incumbent is defeated by a member of the national secretariat and junior minister, suggesting the dominant coalition's attempt to secure a key piece of the territorial apparatus. On the other hand, there are interesting moves on-the ground, especially as far as the Porto federation is concerned, where the incumbent, very close to the party leader, is challenged in a very tight race.

The highest degree of renewal (53%) is found in 2012, with 10 territorial structures changing their leader. As aforementioned, it coincided with the leadership change (Seguro) following the defeat of the PS in 2011. A close observation of the new presidents shows that in many cases these are close to the new party leader, for instance the PS-Braga's and the PS-Porto's presidents, which before being elected belonged to the national secretariat. In the PS-Porto, in particular, the race represented a U-turn with respect to the former leadership,

¹⁴³ Público online: «Novo alento para Ferro avançar com limitação de mandatos», 3/2003.

¹⁴⁴ Público: «Francisco Assis destrona Narciso Miranda na maior federação socialista», 3/2003.

which was identified with the *socratista* faction. As mentioned in the former section, the following round clearly resembled the struggle for the national leadership between Seguro, and Costa. The turnover rate in 2014 is still rather high, since 9 federations changed their leadership.¹⁴⁵ The outcomes show that in most of the cases the new presidents are those candidates that endorsed Costa and signals a reconfiguration of the territorial leadership in his favour, which is then confirmed and reinforced in 2016. Once again, although excluded by the analysis, the 2018 round seems to confirm the tendency towards stability, with a low rate of turnover, 31%, and low competitiveness.

In our view these findings support our previous observations regarding the effects of the national context, in terms of party's institutional position and leadership change/instability, over the selection processes. We return on this point in this chapter's conclusion.

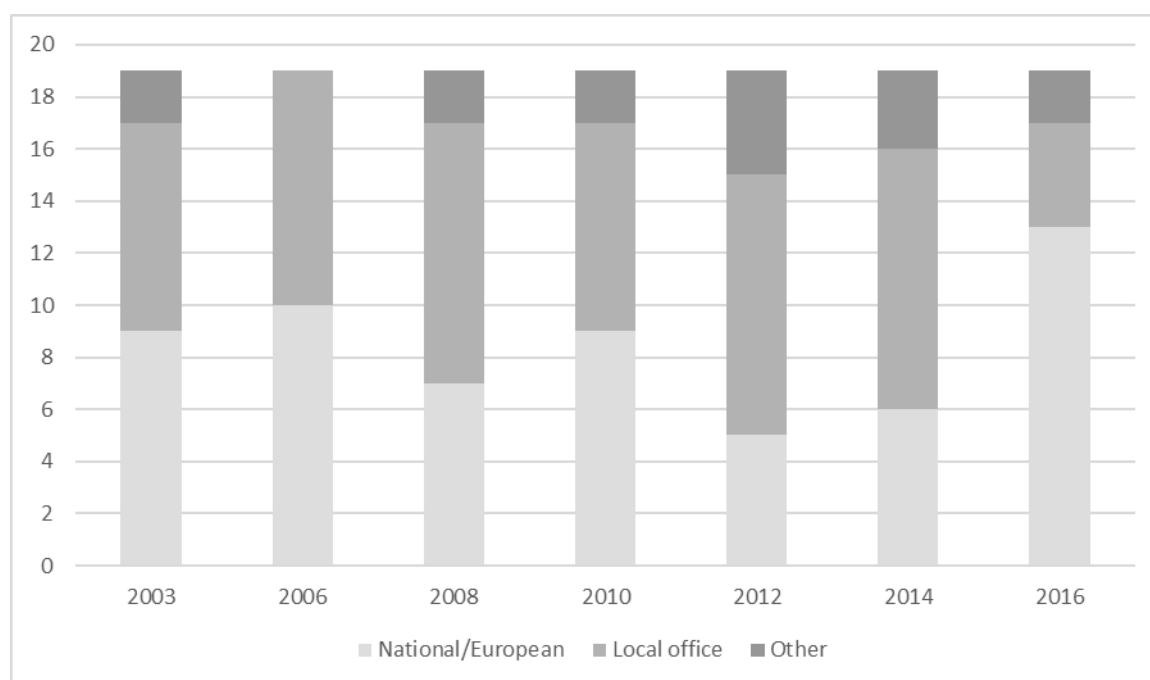
6.5 Office overlap: federation presidents holding public offices

This section focuses on the federation leaders exploring the overlap between this party office with public offices at the European and national level (parliamentarian, governmental), and at the local level (mayors and municipal councillors). This is an important aspect since the overlap ensures these actors political capital, material and symbolic resources (e.g. prestige, expertise, influence, media access...), as well as an easier access to the national leadership, namely when the accumulation regards national public offices.

Hence, we have researched whether at the time of the election the president was also in charge of a public office. Figure 6.2 maps the degree of office overlap and its evolution over time. Due to the few cases of overlap with European parliamentarians (n=2), we have aggregated them into the national offices.

¹⁴⁵ Turnover and winners' position towards Costa or Seguro for the PM open primaries: PS-Bragança (Seguro), PS-Braga (Costa), PS-Castelo Branco (Costa), PS-Évora (Costa), PS-Leiria (Costa), PS-Oeste/West (Costa) PS-Setubal (Costa), PS-Vila Real (Seguro), PS-Viseu (Seguro).

Figure 6.2 Federation presidents holding public offices by year, 2003-2016



Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Firstly, the findings show that there is a clear overlap between federation presidents and public office-holders. Globally, only 10% of them are not in charge of a public office (i.e. 14). In addition, although not specified, the variable ‘other’ includes some cases of political appointments. We have then explored the distribution of the office overlaps and the variations by round of selections. The findings indicate that the highest degree of overlap regards federation leaders holding local offices (45%), followed by the MPs (nearly 40%). When we add the members of government, the share of federation presidents in charge of national public offices shifts to 43%.

Considering the data by round of selection interesting findings emerge. Compared to the previous rounds, in 2016 the number of federation presidents in charge of national public offices is striking, with 11 MPs and 2 junior ministers in the Costa’s 2015 minority cabinet.¹⁴⁶

Conversely, in the former round the office overlap follows the opposite pattern. In this case only 32% (n=6) of the presidents hold a national office (MPs) while 58% are in local power. Similar pattern is found in 2012. Some observations regarding the general context of these

¹⁴⁶ Junior ministers: Pedro Nuno Santos (PS-Aveiro), Marcos Perestrello (PS-Lisboa). Note that in 2017 Costa appointed as junior minister the president of the PS-Setúbal.

two rounds are needed. Firstly, the 2012 and 2014 selections take place when the PS was in opposition; second, the list of MP candidates for the 2011 early elections has been fulfilled under Sócrates' leadership and the federation presidents involved in that candidate selections were those selected in 2010, for the 2010-2012 term. These elements contribute to explain the low ratio of MPs found in this phase. As shown in the previous section, the 2012 round displays the highest turnover rate. In this case, the new configuration of power at the party leadership level – being in this specific case a shift from two 'dominant coalitions' – pushes the change at the federation level, and this 'new blood' comes predominantly from the local power.¹⁴⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the main characteristics of intra-party elections within the PS focusing on the federation presidents' selection. The analysis sought to test the argument of personalisation processes at the territorial level. We have found a pattern of low competitiveness of these elections over the period analysed. Likewise, the unchallenged reselection of the incumbent president is a solid pattern of the races. These characteristics suggest high autonomy of the territorial leaders in the control of the structure, and that these selections tend to be elite-dominated. In this regard, the direct election has strengthened the federation presidents' legitimacy and autonomy within the structures and the establishment of leader-centric model at this level. As such, we argue that it has fostered the building of personalised relations with the national leadership, as we have described in chapter 4.

At the same time, we found these characteristics to be more pronounced during specific phases. Party's institutional status seems an important factor in influencing these dynamics. When the party is incumbent the emergence of challenges from competitive candidates tends to be rare. Likewise, the characteristics of the turnover are not indicative of organised attempts to overturn the *status quo*. This ensures to the national leadership a cohesive organisation with a unified message and provides the federation presidents with autonomy in managing the organisation and the local dynamics. This pattern seems to change at the opposition. In this case there is an important element to be stressed. The shift to the opposition tends to be followed by a leadership change. In this case, the number of contested selections and competitive races tend to be more frequent and the turnovers are

¹⁴⁷ New federation presidents in 2012 and local offices: PS-Algarve, PS-Baixo Alentejo, PS-Bragança; PS-Braga, PS-Coimbra, PS-Porto.

indicative of a reconfiguration in line with the new directorate. Still, the opposition status remains a condition of vulnerability for the leader. What seems to enhance the ‘linkage’ with the national context is the synchronicity of these elections in the PS. The races are in fact held in all the federations concomitantly, under the same phase and context. This feature may make easier for a (new) leader the attempt to consolidate his or her internal power. At the same time, the synchronicity is indicative of party centralisation.

An important aspect that has emerged observing the main characteristics of the internal elections deals with intra-party democracy. As indicated by scholars, low competitiveness may condition members’ participation (Lisi, 2009; Wauters, 2010). In most of the cases party members are called to rubber-stamp a single candidate, without having a real choice between alternative candidacies and, above all, between different party proposals. This may impact members’ mobilisation and (further) alienate them from party life. Moreover, we have found the presence of different dynamics in the nineteen federations which suggests that, within the same party, the members may experience intra-party life differently. We argue that this would deserve an in-depth investigation, based on survey data, which however is beyond the scope of this study.

Chapter VII

The territorial leadership in the PSD. The district presidents' selection

Building on the analysis developed in chapter 6, this chapter focuses on the PSD district structures' leaders. Thus, we first describe the reform that introduced the direct election of the district presidents and the rules governing the selection process. Then, we explore the elections focusing on the degree of competitiveness, turnover rate, and presidents' overlap with public offices. Investigating the selections, the analysis takes into consideration the developments regarding party's institutional position and the national leadership. We examine whether and to what extent the PSD diverges from the PS in this dimension and, if so, what factors may explain the differences.

7.1 The district presidents. Reform and rules of the selection method

The direct election of the district-level bodies was introduced in 1996, in the context of the organisational reform carried out by Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and Rui Rio, with the party's shift to the opposition after a long period in government. The empowerment of members' rights was aimed at revitalising the rank-and-file by attaching participative incentives.¹⁴⁸ However, the reform was circumscribed to the selection of the district-level bodies, whereas the power of selecting the party leader was kept under the control of the Congress, until 2006. The direct election widened district presidents' autonomy from the collegial bodies, by reducing the need to negotiate with the local structures and leaders. This observation is best exemplified by an excerpt of a document published by a PSD district-structure in occasion of the fortieth anniversary of party's foundation (2014). While revisiting the PSD's history at the local level, the excerpt reveals the internal mechanisms which ruled the system prior the direct election:

«On 28 June 1985 the district bodies' elections were held. For the first time, two lists competed. Moura Guedes tried to secure the leadership, succeeding on it only through negotiations with the *concelhias*, and using the influence of the

¹⁴⁸ “Povo Livre”, n° 1055, 7/2/1996.

Lisbon Civil Governor's office, namely the subsidies allocated by the office». (Damas Antunes, 2014: 131).¹⁴⁹

The direct election enhanced the district leaders' position by shifting the power of selection from the local leaders, with which the candidate had to negotiate support, to the ordinary members. With the 1996 reform, the direct election was applied to all the party bodies (i.e. executive, deliberative, jurisdictional and financial). As for the district leadership, the members vote for the Political Committee's board on a ballot paper which lists the candidates running respectively for the presidency, the vice-president(s), the secretary-general, the treasurer, and a variable number of members. Although the system is not properly candidate-centered like that of the PS, in practice the campaign is centered on the candidate, and the ballot paper clearly indicates who runs as leader. Since 1996, the PSD revised the rules only once, introducing the term limit in 2000. Accordingly, after three consecutive terms in office (six consecutive years) the turnover is compulsory. Then, after one term of interruption the former president is allowed to run again for the office. Thus, compared to the PS (four terms), the PSD rule apparently encourages a more frequent turnover at the top of the intermediate structures. This is the main formal limit to the district president's office. In fact, the PSD has not forbidden the accumulation with other executive offices. As such, a district president may be member of the National Political Committee and, in the event of being elected as vice-president, may belong to the Permanent Committee, the restricted executive body. In practice, this has occurred in several cases and under different party leaders.¹⁵⁰ The inclusion of these actors in the party executive body depends on trust relationship with the leader, as well as on the latter's willingness to accommodate the influence and weight of each structure.

The party regulations set the main requisites for both the active and passive electorate, i.e. to be part of the selectorate or to run as candidate (candidacy). Like the PS, membership seniority and payment of the party dues are the two prerequisites to be fulfilled.

¹⁴⁹ «A 28 de Junho 1985 há eleições para os Órgãos Distritais, pela primeira vez há duas listas a concorrer, Moura Guedes tem de se empenhar para manter a liderança da Distrital, só o conseguindo com negociações com as concelhias, e jogando com a influência do cargo de Governador Civil de Lisboa, nomeadamente os subsídios que atribuíra». Translated from Portuguese by the author.

¹⁵⁰ For instance, in 1999 the PSD-Braga president, Fernando Reis, (D. Barroso); in 2005, the president of the PSD-Leiria, Isabel Damasceno (M. Mendes); the president of PSD-Lisboa, Paula Teixeira da Cruz (M. Mendes), she left the office when elected president of PSD-Lisboa; Mendes Bota PDS-Algarve in the CPN elected in 2007 (L. F. Menezes), in 2010 the president of PSD-Porto, Marco António Costa, was also vice-president of the CPN (P. P. Coelho). The most recent case is the president of the PSD-Aveiro, Salvador Malheiro, elected as vice-president of the CPN in 2018 (R. Rio).

As for the candidacy, the collection of members' signatures endorsing the list is also required. The criteria are listed in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Rules for the district presidents selection

Party Leader	Organisational Reform	Selectorate	Candidacy
Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa	District presidents to be directly elected by the members holding electoral capacity (1996)	Membership seniority: at least six months; Payment of membership fees.	Membership seniority: at least twelve months; Payment of membership fees.
Durão Barroso	Term limit: no more than three consecutive mandates (six consecutive years in office) (2000)	Membership seniority: at least six months; Payment of membership fees.	Membership seniority: minimum twelve months; Payment of membership fees. Threshold: 20 signatures

Source: own elaboration, PSD, Statutes and Regulations for internal elections.

The rules shaping the selectorate and candidacy dimensions have not changed substantially over time. Since 1996, the membership seniority requirement for being part of the selectorate is six months, while at least twelve months of seniority are required to run as candidate. In order to exercise both selectorate and candidacy rights it is necessary that no membership dues are left unpaid. The dues' payment need to be updated before a term limit, established by national regulations, which has been changed frequently though. As for becoming a candidate, the national regulations establish the collection of the endorsement (i.e. signatures) of at least twenty members, which seems more of a symbolic threshold. Like the PS, the financial costs of the campaign are to be paid by the candidate, which is held accountable for the expenses. Party fund contributes are not provided.

In the case of the PSD, an important element of the internal elections is the non-synchronicity, i.e. they are not held concomitantly in all the district structures, but they take place according to each district structure's internal calendar. The party headquarters can only recommend not having internal elections in specific periods, such as immediately before electoral competitions. In our view, the non-synchronicity matters for different reasons. Firstly, it indicates a higher degree of local structures' autonomy compared to the PS, where the process is unified. This room for maneuver is apparent in the frequent practice of

anticipating the elections before the official end of the mandate, when it is considered too close to legislative or local elections. The self-regulation of the internal calendar may foster strategic behaviours on the part of the incumbent leadership and it could mean pre-election deals with deter alternative candidacies or discourage the formation of concurrent lists. Secondly, differently from races taking place concomitantly, this ‘dispersion’ may imply a different relation with the dynamics of the party at the national level, since the races may take place under different external and internal environments and leadership. The effects of the non-synchronicity are discussed in detail in the empirical analysis developed in the next sections.

7.2 Empirical analysis (2003-2017)

The empirical analysis examines 133 races held in the nineteen PSD district-level structures between March 2003 and July 2017, based on the original data present in the database of intra-party election we have built. Seven elections by structure are analysed, except for two structures (PSD-Castelo Branco and PSD-Guarda) for which we have six races available each, and two (PSD-Lisboa and PSD-Porto) with eight races available each. Globally, the sample analysed corresponds to 70% of the overall number of internal races held by the PSD since 1997. The lack of complete data has in fact constrained the analysis of the races that took place between 1997 and 2002. Due to the non-simultaneity of these internal elections, their distribution by year is not homogenous, making it difficult to compare the races by round, as we have done in the case of the PS.

As table 7.2 shows, the empirical analysis covers different phases, in terms of party leadership and institutional position.

Table 7.2 National context of the district presidents’ selections

Year	Party leader	Institutional status
2003-7/2004	José M. Durão Barroso	Government
9/2004-4/2005	Pedro Santana Lopes	Government
5/2005-/2007	Luís Marques Mendes	Opposition
2007-2008	Luís Filipe Menezes	Opposition
2008-2010	Manuela Ferreira Leite	Opposition
3/2010-5/2011	Pedro Passos Coelho	Opposition
6/2011-9/2015	Pedro Passos Coelho	Government
10/2015-11/2017	Pedro Passos Coelho	Opposition

Source: own elaboration

Following Durão Barroso's resignation in July 2004, the PSD faced a period of high leadership instability changing several leaders in a few years, until the election of Passos Coelho in 2010 who led the party from 2010 to 2017. Hence, little more than half of the races have been held under this second phase of high leadership stability, while the other half occurred under different leaders, whose longevity in office was substantially lower. During the period analysed, the PSD has been in government until the end of 2004, remaining in opposition until 2011 when returned in power and fulfilled the mandate until the 2015 elections.

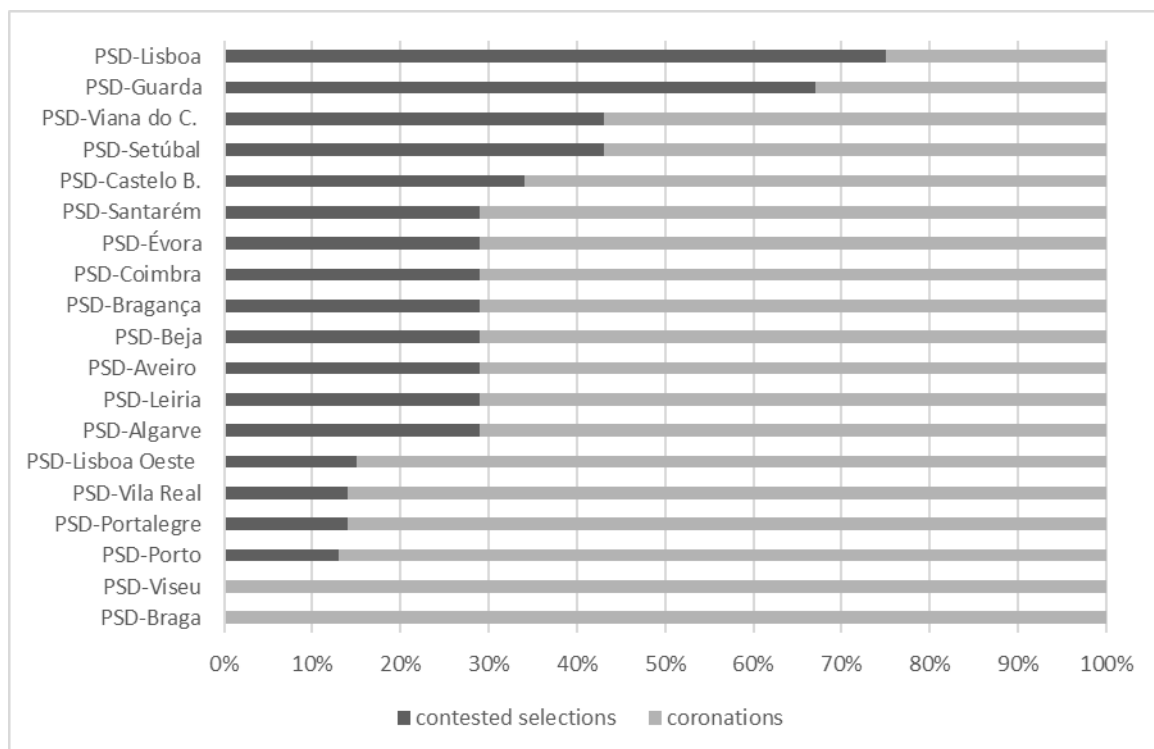
7.2.1 The degree of competitiveness

Following the analysis carried out in the previous chapter we first investigate the degree of competitiveness, in terms of number of candidates and then in terms of margins of victory between the two top finishers. Even though we refer here to candidates, it is worth reminding that in the case of the PSD the ballot paper is not uninominal but includes the complete list(s) for the executive bodies, identifying who is the candidate that runs for president.

The number of candidates: coronations or contested selections?

Based on Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer's analysis we have classified the races as 'coronations' or 'single-candidate' selections when only one list runs, and contested selections when there are more lists. Considering the aggregate data, we first observe that on average the races display a very low degree of competitiveness: nearly 72% (n=95) of them are in fact single-candidate selections, whereas in only 28% (n=38) the members are presented with alternative candidacies. Compared to the PS, the PSD presents a lower degree of competitiveness, with a difference of 10 percentage points (62.4%). We now look at the performance of each district structure on this indicator to see whether within-party variations emerge. The findings are shown in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Degree of competitiveness by district-structure, 2003-2017



Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

The lowest degree of competitiveness is found in two structures, the PSD-Braga and the PSD-Viseu: in these cases, all the races ($n=14$) have been uncontested. Similarly, the PSD-Porto, the largest PSD district structure, shows a very low degree of competitiveness, since in only one case (2014) more than one candidate emerge. The PSD-Portalegre, PSD-Lisboa-West, and the PSD-Vila Real, all of them small structures, follow the pattern found in the PSD-Porto, with only one race disputed by more than one candidate. By contrast, the second largest structure, the PSD-Lisboa, presents a trend of contested selections, with only two cases of coronations (2015 and 2017) during the overall period. Beyond the PSD-Lisboa, only another structure presents less than 50% of coronations, i.e. the medium-low size PSD-Guarda. In the remaining cases, single-candidate races are the majority.

The opposite patterns found in the case of the two largest party structures, the PSD-Porto and PSD-Lisboa, holds true when we consider the races held between 1997 and 2003, for which we have available data. Before 2003, in fact, there have only been single-candidate races for the leadership of the PSD-Porto, whereas the opposite is true for the PSD-Lisboa where the races have always been competitive. Thus, this seems to be an enduring pattern of the two main PSD structures, which suggests the presence of different dynamics behind the control of these two important structures.

The rate of closeness

Then, the second indicator of competitiveness is the rate of closeness, measured by the margin of votes separating the two top finishers. To classify the rate of closeness we rely on the aforementioned index applied by Kenig, Rahat and Tuttnauer (2016) who code as ‘tight’, ‘close’, ‘moderate’ or ‘uncompetitive’ depending on the margin of percentage points. We measured this indicator in 37 out of 38 cases of contested selections, since in one case the data on the share of votes is missing (PSD-Lisbon West 2007). Table 7.3. presents the results.

Table 7.3 The rate of closeness

Margin of victory	Percentage	N
Tight races <10%	32%	12
Close races 10% - 25%	35%	13
Moderate races 25% - 50%	24%	9
Uncompetitive races > 50%	0,8%	3

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

The findings show that when the race has been contested the margins have been ‘tight’ or ‘close’ in the large majority of races (77%) (n=25), indicating a rather high degree of competitiveness, reinforced by the fact that the average margin of the ‘close’ races is 16% percentage points. By contrast, the number of uncompetitive races is irrelevant (less than 1%). Like the PS, this finding suggests that while the number of candidates is generally low, with “inertia” dominating the apparatus, when competition does occur there is an effective work on the ground behind rival candidacies.

We then map the rate of closeness by district structure, excluding the two structures which held only single-candidate races in the time-frame considered (PSD-Braga and PSD-Viseu), and the small structure of PSD-Lisbon West due to data missing.

Table 7.4 Closeness of the races by district-level structure, 2003-2017

District-level structures	Tight (<10%)	Close (10-25)	Moderate (25-50)	Uncompetitive (>50%)
PSD-Lisboa	2	-	4	-
PSD-Guarda	2	2		
PSD-Setúbal	2		1	
PSD-Viana do Castelo	2	1		
PSD-Algarve		1	1	
PSD-Aveiro	1	1		
PSD-Beja		1	1	
PSD-Bragança		1	1	
PSD-Castelo Branco		1	1	
PSD-Coimbra	2			
PSD-Évora	1	1		
PSD-Leiria		1		1
PSD-Santarém		2		
PSD-Portalegre		1		
PSD-Porto				1
PSD-Vila Real				1

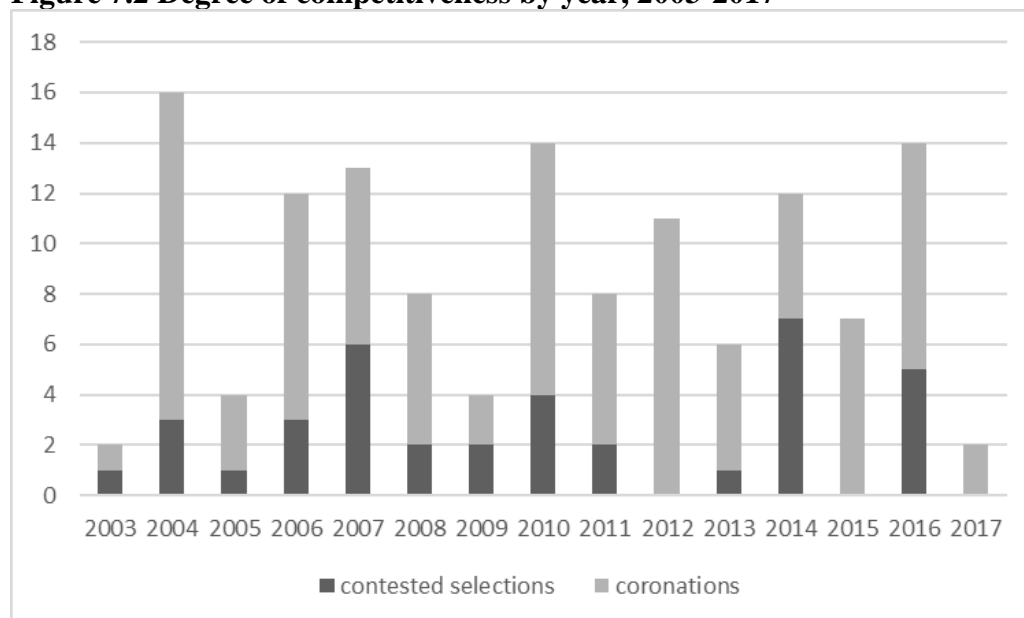
Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Some observations can be made. The PSD-Guarda combines a high degree of competitiveness in terms of number of candidates and in terms of closeness. Similarly, PSD-Setúbal, PSD-Viana and PSD-Coimbra present a dynamic of competitiveness of the races. However, we are referring to less than one-fourth of the PSD structures. Whereas Lisbon is normally a multi-lists race, the outcomes show that most selections have been moderately competitive. In the PSD-Porto, on the other hand, the one race involving more than one list has been uncompetitive (i.e. margin of victory higher than 50 percentage points), thus one of the candidates had unrealistic chances of victory. The same occurs in the northern structure of PSD-Vila Real. Coupled with the absence of disputed selections found in the cases of the PSD-Braga and PSD-Viseu, these four northern structures share similar features in term of dynamics of the contests suggesting a sort of ‘northern pattern’ in the territorial leadership.

7.3 Institutional status, leadership change, and competitiveness

Due to the non-simultaneity of the races in the PSD, the longitudinal analysis is rather constrained. In the PSD we do not have an equal number of observations by year which enables us to analyse the characteristics of the intra-party elections, controlling for party leadership and institutional status. Therefore, we have decided to divide the races in two blocs: the first phase from 2003 to March 2010 (n= 65 races), and the second phase from April 2010 to July 2017 (n= 68 races). In the first phase, and especially between 2004 and 2010, there is high instability at party leadership level: four different leaders are selected, and the party is in opposition. Conversely, in the second phase, from 2010 onwards there is high leadership stability and the party is in government. Of course, incumbency has a crucial role in stabilising the party leader's position and consolidating his power. Hence, we have looked whether in the two phases different patterns emerge, in particular we want to see whether competitiveness is more pronounced in the first phase. In doing so we explore the type of control exercised by the district presidents and whether the disputes for controlling this important sector of the territorial organisation are sensitive to the national context and what does it mean for intra-party relations. The results are illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7.2 Degree of competitiveness by year, 2003-2017



Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV. Note that as for 2010 we have put together the races pre and post Passos Coelho's election. The 10 coronations occur in the 2nd phase, from April 2010.

On average, in the first phase, the share of competitive races is nearly 34% (22 out of 65), whereas in the second it decreases to nearly 23,5% (16 out of 68). In 2004, most of the district structures held internal elections, the overwhelming majority of which are single-candidates (13 in 16). In this phase, the PSD is in government and since 2000 is led by the same leader (Barroso). Most of the district presidents could be considered *barrosistas*. Furthermore, local elections were scheduled for the following year, thus the district structures needed to have their internal issues resolved in advance. Thus, these circumstances may have together enhanced the territorial apparatus' stability and discouraged the emergence of internal conflicts.

After the party's shift to the opposition in February 2005, and at least until 2007, it seems not to emerge more competitiveness. In the meanwhile, the leadership had changed. After the brief experience of Santana Lopes, Mendes was elected in 2005 and reelected in 2006.¹⁵¹ In 2006, several district structures held internal election, and once again coronations prevailed (9 out of 12). This finding suggests high stability in terms of district leadership. Moreover, the few cases of contested races could be identified as close to the party leader's line, and thus reinforced the leader's position within the territorial apparatus. This is best exemplified by the PSD-Lisbon which is conquered by a member of Mendes' directorate.¹⁵²

The pattern of low competitiveness was only partially reversed in 2007. Out of thirteen races held that year, six of them were contested. Furthermore, the races displayed a high rate of closeness, with three tight and one close races. For the PSD it was a phase of high internal turmoil. The defeat in the early elections for the Lisbon's town-hall led to Mendes' resignation, and the following challenge for the leadership against Menezes was won by the latter, in a climate of high factionalism around the two personalities and divisions within the territorial structures. Mendes' defeat was in fact followed by the resignation of the district presidents who had endorsed him, and the anticipation of the internal elections, which the resigning leaders nonetheless were able to keep. The overall outcome of the races did not entail a change of power configuration in the district leadership more favourable to the new leader, rather the party continued to be divided. This division is reflected in Menezes'

¹⁵¹ The 2006 leadership election took place under the new system, i.e. direct election by members. Mendes was single-candidate.

¹⁵² Paula Teixeira da Cruz. She was party vice-president and resigned to run for the PSD-Lisboa. The other is the PSD-Aveiro, where a local leader (A. Topa) won the contest against an MP (L. Montenegro).

difficulty in aggregating consensus around his leadership, which contributed to his resignation after only a few months.

Beyond this specific increase in competitiveness, in the following two years single-candidate selections were the norm. The new leader, Manuela Ferreira Leite, defeated Santana Lopes and Passos Coelho, who were both endorsed by large sectors of the territorial leadership. Nevertheless, the low support held by the new leader within the territorial apparatus seemed not to be reflected in the dynamics of the district races held in 2008. In other words, the new leader seemed not to try to consolidate her internal power by trying to intervene in the disputes supporting a reconfiguration at this level. Thus, the territorial apparatus continued to be dominated by the former leadership. We might wonder about the reasons: was the control of the apparatus considered unimportant for the new leader (elected and legitimised by the members)? Or was not possible the attempt to challenge entrenched equilibria? Of course, the context could have played a chief role in this, since 2009 was a full electoral year. However, the non-reconfiguration of the apparatus may explain the difficult relations of the new leader with the district leadership, which *de facto* emerged during the candidate selection process for both the national and local elections (see chapter 4).

Considering 2010 as a watershed year between the two phases, more competitiveness is found when Ferreira Leite's term was ending, whereas from April 2010 until the end of 2013 the overall competitiveness is remarkably low.¹⁵³ As a matter of fact, in this time-frame there are only 3 contested selections vis-à-vis 32 coronations, which means nearly 1%. This is especially apparent in 2012, with only single-lists running for the 11 district structures at stake. The party was in government since 2011, and in 2013 local elections were scheduled.

By contrast, in 2014 more than half of the races are competitive (7 out of 12), and above all the rate of closeness is rather high, with 3 'close' and 2 'tight' races. What may contribute to explain this dynamic, which runs counter the argument of internal cohesion pushed by the incumbency, is the fact that this round of selections follows the 2013 local elections, which represented a strong defeat for the PSD in local power and the first setback for the government. However, the disputes seem not to be engendered in a challenge to the national leadership, which on the one hand may suggest that they are due to purely local dynamics,

¹⁵³ The PSD-Lisboa was one of the competitive races in the early months of 2010. The incumbent president (C. Carreiras) and supporter of Passos Coelho in 2008 was challenged by a candidate (J. B. Gouveia) endorsed by M.F. Leite.

on the other that the leader tries to secure the apparatus with new presidents.¹⁵⁴ The analysis of the turnover and the characteristics of the winners carried out in the next sections may provide some insights on it.

In 2015, year of legislative elections, all the seven races are uncontested. Competitiveness seems to re-emerge the following year, with nearly half of the several races held being disputed (7 out of 16). In 2016 the PSD had shifted to the opposition, and the erosion of the support towards the party leader was growing. A closer look indicates changes in power configuration which seem to pay in anticipation the scenario of leadership change. Yet, this is more apparent in only one structure, the PSD-Aveiro, where the incumbent president is defeated, and the dispute involves the endorsement of important members of the party at the national level (e.g. the president of the Parliamentary Party Group). This case is rather interesting in order to show the enduring capacity of local notables (*caciques*) to strategically mobilise members as a resource for internal struggles behind rival candidacies. Before the contest, in fact, there is an important increase of the affiliations which made the PSD-Aveiro the second largest PSD structure in 2016.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, a similar challenge is attempted in the PSD-Lisbon in 2017.¹⁵⁶

However, given that the general pattern of uncontested (and uncompetitive) races is rather consolidated in the PSD, it seems difficult to disentangle the effects of national context in hindering the internal competition. On the one hand, it may indicate that the control of the structures is not affected by factors such as the struggles for the national party leadership, or the party's government status. The non-simultaneity of the races, which favours strategic behaviours, concurs in making this analysis difficult. Moreover, this feature of the PSD internal elections reinforces the local autonomy vis-à-vis the national party. This may be in line with the idea of the strataarchical nature of the PSD observed by scholars and discussed in chapter 4 (Jalali, 2006, 2007; Jalali and Lisi, 2009). The district leadership in the PSD may be more linked to the control of the local power and the control ensured by this party office over local power. Yet, while in government this autonomy may be less relevant, it may be more problematic for the national leader in opposition, for instance in trying to create

¹⁵⁴ For instance, in the PSD-Santarém the incumbent president is defeated by a MP close to the party leader.

¹⁵⁵ “Diário de Notícias” online: «PSD: Militantes inscritos em bloco fazem distrital de Aveiro maior que Lisboa», 29/2/2016.

¹⁵⁶ “Público” online: «Passos Coelho tenta segurar Lisboa com Pedro Pinto», 27/5/2017.

a front of close presidents and reshaping the power configuration on the ground. In this regard, this attempt may be easier for a PS leader.

In some cases, the competitiveness, or the lack of thereof, seems to be linked to local dynamics. If internal ‘factions’ exist, in these cases they do not seem to emerge or be organised. At the same time, the low competitiveness may be indicative of low elites’ circulation, personalised control of the structures and entrenchment of an ‘oligarchy’ at the territorial level. An in-depth analysis of renewal dynamics and case-by-case observation would contribute to better understanding these processes. Of course, it is clear that in terms of intra-party democracy the absence of competitiveness may discourage members’ participation and mobilisation, as well as the emergence of different party proposals.

7.4 Continuity and renewal

In this section we explore the continuity and renewal characterising the district leadership by focusing on the degree of turnover.

Turnover rate

The PSD encourages elites’ circulation at district level by making the turnover mandatory after three consecutive terms in office, corresponding to six years. The analysis shows that during the time-frame considered there have been on average three leadership changes by structure. The distribution is rather homogeneous since no less than three and no more than four changes have been experienced per district structures. Due to the aforementioned term limit and the fact that the empirical analysis have covered a period of 14 years, this finding is not surprising. It rather indicates that the rule is fully institutionalised. On the other hand, it also indicates that, on average, the district presidents tend to complete the number of terms allowed. Indeed, looking to what extent renewal has been influenced by party rules, we observe that in nearly 44% (n=28) of the cases the turnover has been compulsory. Overall, renewal is found in 48% of the observations (n=64). Still, in 11% (n=7) of the cases classified as “turnover”, to be elected was a former district president, suggesting that, like the PS, the incentives provided by the rules are not very effective in hampering strategic behaviours on the part of the territorial elites. Compared to the PS, however, the number of turnovers in the PSD is higher. This result may be explained due to the differences in the rules governing the term limit in the two parties, which ensure the PS federation presidents more longevity in office. Conversely, in 52% (n=69) of the observations to be reselected are the incumbent presidents.

We now examine reselection of the incumbent (continuity) and election of a new president (turnover) considering to what extent they are the result of a contested race or a coronation. We thus reintroduce the competitiveness dimension. We argue that this approach enables us to observe more in depth the main characteristics of these selections and see, for instance, whether challenges to the incumbent leaders are undertaken, as well as to what extent the prospects of turnover stimulate the emergence of a dispute. This perspective provides further insights on the characteristics of the territorial leadership, such as autonomy and control exercised over the organisation. The results are presented in table 7.5.

Table. 7.5 Turnover, continuity and competitiveness, 2003-2017

PSD district-structures	Continuity	Turnover
Coronations	54 (78%)	41 (64%)
Contested selections	15 (22%)	23 (36%)
N=133	69	64

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

As the table shows, there is a clear pattern of uncontested reselection of the incumbent presidents. Indeed, in 78% of the cases the incumbent is reselected without facing opposition. Apparently, incumbency discourages the emergence and organisation of rival candidacies. Given the advantaged position of who controls the organisation, this is not entirely surprising. We have found a similar value in the PS (i.e. 76%).

When challenged, the incumbent's rate of success tends to be very high (83%). In the (few) cases of challenge to the incumbent president (n=18), the incumbent was reselected, and continuity was ensured, in 15 of the observations. Therefore, challenges to the incumbent leader tend to be rare, and defections rarer. Although the incumbent is rarely challenged, we have found this event to occur more (twice the times) in the phase of higher leadership instability. Yet, given that in that phase more competitiveness emerged this finding could be not significant. In the PS, we have found the incumbent presidents to be challenged more, and their rate of success to be comparatively lower (70%).

It is more surprising to find low competitiveness in the cases of turnover, when the party office is at stake. In fact, selection of new presidents occurs in 64% of the cases through coronations. Hence, apparently the prospect of a change does not enhance competitiveness

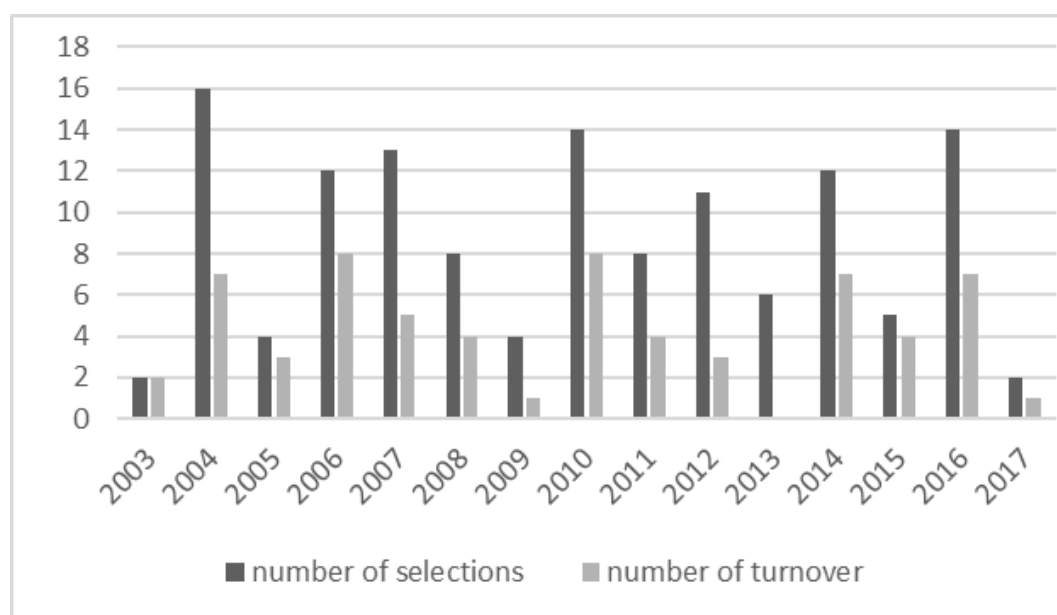
by stimulating the emergence of alternative candidates. The turnover is contested only in 36% of cases (n=23), most of which involve new candidates (n=20), while the aforementioned rotation, triggered by incumbents' defeat, is almost absent (n=3). In this regard, the PSD differs from the PS, where the turnover was disputed in most of the cases.

These findings can be explained due to the dynamics of the pre-selection stage. On the one hand, there may be a 'favourite son' for the office, i.e. a candidate endorsed by the leadership, namely a member of the former district directorate (e.g. vice-president). On the other, there may be negotiation between different groups over a consensual candidate and unitary list. This, however, would require a case-by-case analysis which is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the findings seem to indicate that turnover is in most cases the result of an elite-controlled process, pointing towards high autonomy and room for maneuver in the control of the organisation on the part of the territorial elites.

Turnover rate by year, 2003-2017

Although the systematic analysis of the turnover rate by year is constrained by the uneven distribution of the races, some observations can be made with reference to the different phases experienced by the PSD during the period analysed. Figure 7.3 illustrates the data.

Figure 7.3 Turnover by year, 2003-2017



Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

Several cases of turnover are found in 2006, when 67% of the structures, which held internal elections, changed their leadership. However, the aforementioned absence of competitiveness found in 2006 suggests that renewal in the district leaderships is not the result of internal divisions resulting in rival candidacies. From this perspective, the territorial structures did not show instability in their internal dynamics. Likewise, in 2010 the rate of turnover is high, with 57% of turnover, but it is not competitive. Differently from 2006, in 2010 the renewal coincided with a change in the party leadership change. This may indicate a ‘tranquil’ reconfiguration of the apparatus and cohesion around the new leader (Passos Coelho) on the part of the territorial leaders. In fact, the results of Passos Coelho’s election demonstrated the large support towards him.¹⁵⁷

The following years, and at least until 2014, are very stable, with few changes at the top of the district structures and a substantial continuity. In 2014 the turnover rate is high (58%) and this time competitiveness has increased as well, most of the turnovers are in fact contested and the closeness of the races indicate that the challenges were competitive (close and tight). As we have shown, in that year the pattern of low competitiveness, experienced since Passos Coelho’s first mandate (and the party’s shift to government), was interrupted. However, at the same time, the new district presidents selected could not be identified with the emergence and mobilisation of an organised opposition towards the national leader. As mentioned, in some case the moves rather seemed to indicate the attempt to secure the apparatus with closer presidents. In part, the dynamics found in 2014 may be related with the defeat suffered by the PSD in the 2013 local elections and thus may be triggered by locally-based conflicts. Likewise, in 2016, 50% of the structures changed their president and the turnover is disputed in most cases with competitive races. We have mentioned that, especially in the case of the PSD-Aveiro, the race was significative for revealing the erosion of the national leader’s support within the structures.

Overall, we have not found the turnover rate being significantly higher in the first phase with respect to the second. This may be explained due to the term limit. On the other hand, we have not found the turnover be more contested in one phase rather than another. In less than half of the cases, turnover is the result of a contested race. As shown in the previous sections a very low degree of competitiveness characterises these intra-party elections. Still, lowest turnover rate and lowest competitiveness were more apparent between 2010 and 2014, with

¹⁵⁷ In the direct elections of 2010, Passos Coelho defeated Paulo Rangel in all the structures, with the exception of the regional structure of the PSD-Madeira.

Passos Coelho's election, and during the first phase in government until 2014, suggesting the effect of incumbency in stabilising internal cohesion.

7.5 Office overlap: district presidents holding public offices

This section explores to what extent district presidents overlap with public office-holders, such as members of the European Parliament (MEP), governors and MPs, or local officials. In light of the purposes of the thesis, we are more interested in this feature rather than other type of information, such as gender, age and literacy. Holding a public office provides the district president with political capital and influence capacity and, depending on the type of office, a closer relation with the national leadership. At the same time, different patterns of office accumulation may indicate a closer relation of these elites with local or national power. The empirical analysis concerned the public office held by the district president when selected. In case of reselection we repeated the observation regarding the public office. Table 7.6. presents aggregate data for the period analysed.

Table 7.6 Percentage of district presidents holding public offices, 2003-2017

MEP	MP	Local Office	Other
0,02% (2)	33% (44)	47% (63)	18% (24)

Source: own dataset of intra-party elections, see Annex IV.

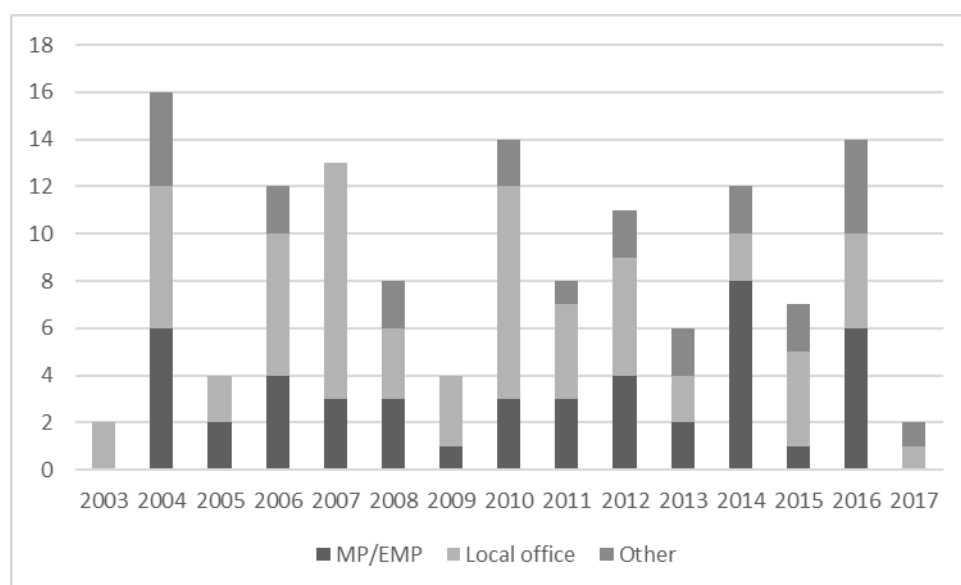
The first observation is that a large share of district presidents, 82% also holds a public office at the time of the election. However, like the case of the PS, the category labelled as 'other' includes cases of patronage posts. The emergence of the overlap is not in itself surprising. It is more interesting to look at the type of office occupied, whether and to what extent there is a prevalence of the national or local, and eventual changes. This may contribute to shed light on the dynamics of the selections investigated in the previous sections.

Firstly, among district presidents the overlap with local public offices tends to be more diffuse, with 47% of the observations. More than one-third held a national or European office

when elected. Differently from the PS, there are no cases of district presidents holding governmental offices, when the party was incumbent.¹⁵⁸ The overlap with national and European offices is therefore lower than that found in the case of the PS (i.e. 43%).

Looking at the distribution of party-public office's overlap by year, illustrated in Figure 7.4, the presence of local officers at the head of the PSD district structures tends to be more pronounced in the phase that precedes the return to government in 2011. In this phase the overlaps with local officers is more evident, with 55% of district presidents holding a local office vis-à-vis the 37% in the second phase. This pattern is apparent in 2007 when the vast majority of district leaders is linked to local power. This data goes in the direction of previous studies which have highlighted the expansion of local-office holders' influence in national bodies during the period at the opposition (Jalali, 2006, 2007). In that phase the territorial apparatus was mainly headed by members linked to local power.

Figure. 7.4 District presidents holding public offices by year, 2003-2017



Source: own dataset of intra-party elections see Annex IV.

¹⁵⁸ But see the case of the government formed by the PSD/CDS coalition after the 2015 elections and presented to the Parliament for the vote of confidence, which was rejected. In this case, the presidents of the PSD-Porto and PSD-Lisbon are appointed as junior ministers. “Diario de Notícias” online: «Figuras do aparelho do PSD reforçam secretários de Estado», 30/10/2015.

The share of local offices tended to decrease in the second phase, with 2014 as the year in which more district presidents and in particular the new ones are MPs and MEP. On the one hand, this may not be particularly surprising, due the district presidents' role in candidate selection. On the other, the fact that most of the MPs are new presidents in our view supports the observation that the high turnover and competitiveness experienced in 2014 reveals the leader's attempt to secure the apparatus.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have replicated for the PSD the analysis carried out in chapter 6. The goals were the same: to investigate the argument of emergence of personalisation and leader-centric model of organisation at the territorial level, and the relation of these dynamics with the party at national level. We have found both similarities and differences with the PS. Firstly, like the PS on average these intra-party elections tend to be uncontested. In the PSD this pattern is slightly higher. In both cases, we have found that when disputed the races are rather competitive. In other words, the emergence of more than one candidate means that behind rival candidacies there is an organised effort, whereas outsider candidates (uncompetitive contests) are very rare. As for the turnover, in the PSD, most cases of new presidents result from uncontested selections, therefore the tendency towards continuity in the control of the territorial organisation is rather pronounced.

However, in both parties territorial differences are found, with structures in which absence of competitiveness and elite's entrenchment appear to be more pronounced than in others. Yet, this would deserve a detailed analysis that looks at within-party variations. Overall, the characteristics of these internal disputes in both the PS and the PSD reveal important aspects. Rather than change, it is precisely the lack of change and competition that it is interesting. In our view, the low competitiveness and low renewal (in spite of the rule on terms limit) are indicators of dynamics of low elites' circulation and 'oligarchic' tendencies in the control of the territorial level of the party organisation.

In comparison with the PS, however, the PSD differs on an important aspect, i.e. the non-synchronicity of the internal disputes. This feature suggests the higher degree of autonomy of the territorial leaders in managing the organisation, potentially fostering strategic behaviours. Overall, it is consistent with the more decentralised nature of the PSD. At the same time, this feature may hamper national leader's eventual attempt to control the

apparatus, for instance by encouraging the emergence of alternative candidacies, and may contribute to explain the difficulties of the PSD leaders in opposition.

Finally, the considerations done for the PS regarding the effects on members' mobilisation and intra-party democracy, as well as party public image, apply to the PSD as well. Social-democrats are called to rubber stamp decisions already taken internally that – coupled with the absence of a true renewal on the supply-side – may negatively affect their participation to intra-party life.

Chapter VIII

The intra-party democracy reforms in the PS and PSD (2010-2017)

Introduction

This final chapter analyses the intra-party democracy (IPD) reforms – and the attempts of reforms – carried out by the PS and the PSD in the most recent years, placing the emphasis on the territorial structures.

Chapter 1 has shown that members' and supporters' role in internal processes is a growing trend of contemporary parties, conceived as an organisational response to challenges such as membership decline, decrease of activism, and growing party distrust. As such, it represents an attempt to recover the public image by making the processes more inclusive (Dalton and Weldon, 2005; Ignazi, 2014). Parties, especially the electoralist ones, may be pressured towards these reforms by environmental factors relative to the electoral competition and their competitors' strategies. Another perspective suggests that democratisation conceals a strategy to strengthen the leader from the constraints of the party middle-level strata (e.g. territorial structures, delegates, etc.), by appealing to the direct and un-mediated participation of the individual member (Panebianco, 1982; Katz and Mair, 1995).

As a matter of fact, scholars have shown that a measure of IPD such as the direct election of the leader by members has enhanced leader's internal autonomy and public legitimacy. This is the case of the PS and PSD, where the power of electing the leader has been transferred from the congress to the ordinary members, first in the PS in 1998, followed by the PSD in 2006. Conversely, it has weakened the territorial structures' role – exercised by means of political influence and direct linkage with the congressional delegates – and more in general the internal system of accountability based on the collective bodies. Moreover, although it has been presented by party elites as a measure for revitalising the membership, there is no significant evidence that passive members have been mobilised or that new affiliations have risen due to this reform (Lisi and Espírito Santo, 2017). Scholars have highlighted the strategic rationales behind the introduction of the reform and the tailoring of the rules governing the process, as well as the low competitiveness and high rate of approval characterising the direct elections, especially when the party is incumbent, explained with the need for party elites to find consensual candidates to avoid the negative

impact of intra-party divisions in party public image (Lisi, 2010b, 2015a; Lisi and Freire, 2014: 139). More in general, such features reflect the increasing leader's centrality and the relevance of leader effects for parties' electoral performance (Lobo, 2005a, 2006). As shown in chapter 3, the direct election is still applied by a minority of parties and tends to be more frequent in centre-left than centre-right parties.

Since this specific reform has been widely explored by scholars in the Portuguese case, this chapter circumscribes the analysis to some considerations related to the role of the territorial structures, drawing upon the interviews carried out for this thesis. Therefore, it deals in detail with the more recent processes of reform concerning IPD in the two parties. Large part of the chapter deals with the PS case, since it has shown important developments during the recent years in opposition (2011-2015), vis-à-vis the inertia experienced by the PSD in this respect. Firstly, with the reform of candidate selection which expanded members' role, carried out by Seguro. Secondly, with the open primaries for selecting the Prime-Ministerial candidate for the 2015 elections, the first experience of this type adopted by a Portuguese parliamentary party. As it will be shown, this innovation was ensued in intra-party conflicts and involved the territorial structures' mobilisation capacity in supporting rival candidates.

Before accounting the reforms of IPD, we consider how the two parties define their organisational boundaries, namely whether they enable the inclusion of other types of affiliates beyond the dues-paying members. This feature matters for different reasons. For scholars, this innovation belongs to the measures adopted for coping with the effects of membership decline on the internal participation and external legitimacy, as well as to attenuate the unrepresentative character of the members (e.g. prevalently male, elderly, etc.) (Scarrow, 2015; Pedersen *et al.*, 2017; Achury *et al.*, 2018). More in general, it reflects the changing nature of parties as organisations based on dues-paying membership (von dem Berge and Poguntke, 2017). At the internal level, the expansion of the party boundaries reduces the distinction between members and non-members. Moreover, if the party provides less-committed typology of affiliates with rights in internal processes, the direct linkage between leader and supporters is strengthened, and thus the 'plebiscitary' character of the party (Young and Cross, 2002; Young, 2013: 68). In our view, it further loosens the internal ties and affects the party territorial structures threatening their role of intermediators and their mobilisation and influence capacity.

8.1 Expanding the organisational boundaries? The IPD reforms in the PS

As chapter 3 has shown, the PS is among the few parties offering alternative types of affiliation, beyond the dues-paying membership. Party statutes include two types of formal membership: the member (the *militante*) and the sympathiser (the *simpatizante*). Everyone who identifies with the Program and the Principles may enroll as sympathiser, without supporting financial costs. This figure has been introduced by the PS with the 2003 statutory changes, alongside the adoption of non-territorial structures as the ‘thematic-branches’, the ‘cyber-branches’ and the ‘political clubs’. These innovations were undertaken by the new leadership after the shift of the party to the opposition and were presented as incentives to the involvement of the supporters and the openness of the party to the society.¹⁵⁹ An important element of this type of affiliation lies in the direct linkage set with the party at the national level and the disconnection from the territorial structures, being the register controlled by the party executive body, the National Secretariat.¹⁶⁰ Joining the party as sympathiser ensures the participation in non-elective meetings and information about the party initiatives. Therefore, expanding the party boundaries the PS has not assigned rights that may alter the internal power distribution. However, as this chapter shows, recent developments have paved the way for a revision of this figure aimed at attaching rights in internal decisions, such as personnel selection.

As referred in the previous chapters, the adoption of measures aimed at strengthening the ordinary members dates to the first Guterres’ administration (1995-1999) with the democratisation of the leadership selection. Over time, few voices have defended the return to the election of the secretary-general by the congress.¹⁶¹ Nowadays, this method is broadly consensual within the party, and party members appear to be largely supportive of the system (Sanches and Razzuoli, 2017).¹⁶² Furthermore, recent analyses have shown that there is a large consensus within PS members towards increasing IPD opportunities (Lisi, 2015b; Sanches *et al.*, 2018).

¹⁵⁹ “Acção Socialista”, n°1183, 16/1/2003, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Official data on the number of registered sympathisers is not available. Lisi (2009: 189) mentions that a few years after the reform, thousands of sympathisers had joined the PS and that they were concentrated in a few larger cities like Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra.

¹⁶¹ The MEP, Ana Gomes, under Socrates’ leadership was in favour of the return to the election by the congress.

¹⁶² According to the survey, 68% of the respondents are in favour of the direct election.

In more recent years, the expansion of the selectorate for the leadership election has gained support within some party sectors. The selection of the leader through primaries open to sympathisers was recently endorsed by a group of party officials and prominent members.¹⁶³ The initiative named «Mais participação, melhor PS. Aproximar os cidadãos dos partidos, reforçar a ligação entre o PS e a sociedade» (More participation, better PS. Bringing citizens and parties together, reinforcing the linkage between the PS and society) aimed at discussing these reforms at the congress (2013) and entailed a wide set of reforms which included the possibility for members and sympathisers to present ideas to the congress and to discuss and vote through the internet proposals to be included in the electoral program. Yet, the initiative concealed an instrumental character and entailed a clear challenge to the new leader, Seguro, who still needed to consolidate his internal power. Most of the subscribers belonged to, or could be identified with, the party's leftist sector, openly critical of the incumbent leader, and close to his potential challenger, Costa.¹⁶⁴ In the end, it was not admitted to the congressional debates due to procedural reasons. The upcoming local elections (September 2013) discouraged the exposure of internal divisions and fostered the search for a compromise, achieved with Costa's election to head the national political committee, and which suspended, at least temporarily, the conflict.¹⁶⁵ However, following the leadership change that took place in 2014, with the election of Costa as Secretary-General, the measure was finally adopted. The 2015 statutes admitted the possibility for registered sympathisers to vote in leader and candidate selection. Nevertheless, their applicability is conditioned. The statutes specify in fact that the inclusion of sympathisers depends on the favourable deliberation of the National Committee, which is also in charge of creating an *ad hoc* regulation for the process. Still, in the following leadership selections (2016 and 2018), this possibility has not been used and the selectorate has remained circumscribed to ordinary members.

These episodes are illustrative of two features. Firstly, the instrumental rationales behind the organisational reforms, ensued in intra-party struggles, and secondly, the tendency towards bargain among 'factions' in order to avoid the public exposure of conflicts, confirming the importance of rather neglected factors, such as intra-party struggles, in explaining organisational change and/or inertia in the Portuguese parties (Lisi, 2015a).

¹⁶³ Among the subscribers, prominent members like Carlos César, Ana Catarina Mendes, and Pedro Nuno Santos.

¹⁶⁴ The proposer, J. T. Silveira, was very close to Sócrates, and had been junior minister in the former government.

¹⁶⁵ Party website: «Partido Socialista unido elege Secretariado Nacional e Comissão Política», 18/5/2013.

As scholars contend, the direct selection has fostered leader-members linkage, undermining the intermediating role of the structures on the ground. As a consequence, it has enhanced leadership personalisation and autonomy vis-à-vis the party organisation. The reduction in structures' influence capacity following the reform is acknowledged by the federation presidents interviewed for this study.

«The federation president holds the bureaucratic structure of the party, being elected. This gives advantages in terms of influence capacity. Nevertheless, nowadays the direct communicational power between the national leadership and the militants is stronger than the regional leaders' influence capacity» (M. Freitas, MP, 2014, PS-Algarve president).

An interesting aspect emerged from our interviews has concerned the enduring relevance of structures' work for aggregating consensus towards one or the other candidate. This phenomenon, defined as "organised *caciquismo*" would deal with local leaders' and local notables' (*caciques*) capacity in aggregating support or even controlling 'pockets of votes' (*sindicatos de votos*), by means of relations of loyalty, personal trust as well as patronage in local power.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, the capacity of consensus aggregation seems to work also under a system of election based on ordinary members, who are allegedly less linked to the structures compared with the activists and the delegates. In this respect, the perdurance of *caciquismo*'s practices may attenuate the loss of influence, consequent to the introduction of the direct election, and may 'constrain' the candidate to leadership to pay attention to this sector. Although the 'organised *caciquismo*' seems more apparent in internal elections at lower levels, it may emerge also in case of national leadership selection when there are competitive rival candidacies.

The intra-party conflicts on the rules governing the process of selection (e.g. the dues-payment), as well as the attempt to strengthen the top-down control over the affiliation process via the reinforcement of internal transparency, demonstrate that these mechanisms are perceived by party elites as still relevant.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Pedro Nuno Santos (2013).

¹⁶⁷ In both the PS and the PSD, media attention has been focused on malpractices, such as episodes of mass payment of members' fees which the national party has tried to counteract due to the negative effects on party image. (see for instance: "Observador" online: Vítor Matos: «Caciques. Uma dentadura por votos e outros esquemas nas lutas internas do PS e do PSD» 20/7/2017.

The expansion of party organisational boundaries, and the extension of the selectorate to the party supporters is precisely perceived as a way to counteract this influence. This has been stressed by other interviewees, publicly supporters of the open primaries.

«Nowadays, the profile of the militant is different from that of 40 years ago, when there was more willingness to participate and the perception of influence was greater. Over time, local structures more interested in building and preserving a structure of power have emerged. The closeness occurring within parties is part of the problems of democracy». [...] «Open primaries are a way to break the *sindicatos de votos* and the structures' closeness. There is an effective reduction [of these phenomena] with the openness to supporters who are not dependent on a machine created by a local leader. This does not mean that someone that has the weight locally will not try to regiment or try to create a mechanism for influencing the results, but it is more difficult when the electorate is more open. Primaries make it more difficult for closed structures which manage to regiment or to control a pocket of votes» (P. D. Alves, MP, 2015).

«Local leaders are mobilised on the ground also to grab the votes of party supporters, but through the open primaries this role is attenuated» (P. N. Santos, MP, PS-Aveiro president 2013).

8.2 The democratisation of candidate selection

In the PS, the internal debate about the expansion of intra-party democracy reemerged after the party's shift to the opposition and the following campaign for the leadership. In line with literature's expectations the institutional status and the need for the new leader to build internal support set the basis for IPD reforms to be discussed. The 2011 leadership campaign confronting Francisco Assis and António José Seguro addressed the reform of the candidate selection (CS) for national and local public offices, albeit with important differences regarding the selectorate. While Assis defended the openness of the process to party supporters, provided they had previously registered to vote (open primaries), Seguro safeguarded that only members had voting rights (closed primaries).¹⁶⁸ Assis' proposal was

¹⁶⁸ For the sake of simplicity here we do not distinguish the open primary from the semi-open primary, which requires a previous registration (Kenig *et al.*, 2015).

highly critical of the territorial elites, considered a sector moved from opportunistic interests, entrenched in local or national power and loosely linked to society, and maintained that open primaries would have counteracted «non-transparent practices, obscure decision-making processes or strategies of closeness» (2011: 33-34).¹⁶⁹ At the same time, this approach is illustrative of strategic considerations. The appeal to the grassroots against the closeness fostered by some sectors and local cadres is a strategy often adopted by candidates with low internal support to try to mobilise passive members (Freire and Lisi, 2014; Lisi, 2015a). By contrast, Seguro benefited from stronger support within the party structures.¹⁷⁰ Including only the members, Seguro's proposal affected the powers of the federations and the local structures in the candidate selection, but to a lower extent than open primaries. Furthermore, the reform would have been preceded by a period of debate and would have resulted from a collegial decisional process.¹⁷¹ Seguro's election opened a six-months process for the revision of the party statutes concluded with the adoption of closed primaries for selecting both MPs and mayoral candidates.¹⁷² As the then National Secretariat in charge of the Organisation (SNO) declared to the party press:

«Currently, the federations monopolise the elaboration of the MP candidates' lists. With the new statutes, the federations would share this area of competence. The party members and the local units (*concelhias*) that disagree with the list may present an alternative list». ¹⁷³ (A. Galamba, SNO, 2012)

Thus, the reform enabled a group of members and local structures to present an alternative list to the list voted by the federation's political committee. As such, members' ballot depended on the emergence of a challenge to the federation's executive and its monopoly over the list fulfillment (Sanches and Razzuoli, 2017). However, since the beginning it was

¹⁶⁹ Assis' motion "A força das ideias" (The strength of ideas): «First, the concept of 'internal life of parties' must disappear from our discourse. The Portuguese citizens gave to parties, through the Constitution of the Republic, the privilege of the representation which is incompatible with non-transparent practices, obscure decision-making processes or strategies of closeness. The life of parties regards all the people, militants, sympathisers, citizens. It is a matter of citizenship» (2011: 33-34).

¹⁷⁰ "Público" online: «Seguro com vantagem no aparelho, Assis com mais apoios na direcção de Sócrates», 21/7/2011; and «Os parasitas políticos». According to Assis: «Seguro is very popular within the PS. During the last years, he did not hold demanding public offices. Thus, he could rally the country. This must be acknowledged as a merit. I do not have the same deep linkage in terms of relations of proximity because in the last two years I was the leader of the parliamentary party group», 18/06/2011.

¹⁷¹ Seguro's motion, "O novo ciclo para cumprir Portugal" (The new cycle to accomplish Portugal): «We want to change the methods of members' involvement. Our aims will be the participation of each member and the improvement of the democratic internal life. [...] This national debate will discuss a new way to do party politics, will debate all proposals...including the selection method for our candidates to political office, including the possibility of primaries between the militants» (2011: 7).

¹⁷² A. Galamba. In: "Acção Socialista": «Estatutos reforçam a participação dos militantes», n° 1367, 3/2012.

¹⁷³ In party website, «Abertura e transparência marcam propostas de novos estatutos», 28/3/2012.

unclear which formula should be applied and the reform of the CS was complicated by the formula to be applied and, above all, it would affect the informal mechanisms of negotiation that characterise the lists fulfilment, as follows:

«Seguro's proposal was complicated. It was unclear how the D'Hondt method should be operationalised. When (the system) it is too complicated to be operationalised, there is a problem when elections are approaching. When the party is consumed in an internal discussion this is not positive before an electoral act. [...] Choosing the PM candidate is easier, it is a choice about one person to fill the post; the mayor is the same, it is easy to approve the regulation of the process. Choosing MPs candidates is more difficult, a share is fulfilled by the party directorate, there are local dynamics, it has often to do with regional balances, demographic factors, or political factors within the party. The primaries system for MPs candidate is not very linear with the electoral system for the parliament, it is not a personalised contest in uninominal circles» (P. D. Alves, MP, 2015).

However, due to the successive internal developments that paved the way to the leadership change in the second half of 2014, the reform ended up not being applied and withdrawn from the new statutes (2015).

Nevertheless, the reform was tried for selecting the mayoral candidates at the 2013 local elections. Although the closed primaries were applied in few councils, the process had significant implications at both internal and electoral level, namely in those cases where intra-party conflicts emerged. The next section reviews the empirical cases of closed primaries, the processes and the outcomes.

8.2.1 The closed primaries for mayoral candidates' selection (2013)

In the Portuguese context, 'mayoral candidate' refers to the top-member of the list running for the council executive. The reform of the electoral legislation in 1996 gave to non-partisan/independent lists, the *grupos de cidadãos* (citizens' groups), the possibility to run in local elections, this system being applied four years later at 2001 local elections (Martins, 2004). Over time, the number of independent lists has been growing, representing an increasing challenge to parties' dominant position in local power. In this regard, this trend

responds to the growing citizens' distrust towards parties and, above all, indicates the latter's organisational weakening (Jalali, 2014: 248-249).

As we have shown in the previous chapters, local politics is a key arena for the territorial structures, which exercise their powers in large autonomy from the national party. In the PS, the local political committee at council level, the *Comissão Política Concelhia*, is formally in charge of the candidate selection, thus the process is rather exclusive. The reform carried out by Seguro, enabled ordinary members to participate in the process directly voting for the top-list candidate. Accordingly, members were called to vote depending on the emergence of a candidate who challenged the official candidate selected by the political committee.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the rules shaping the candidacy were rather demanding since the candidate needed the support of 1/3 of the members of the local political committee, 10% of active members and 10% of the local public office-holders. In practice, the closed primaries were experimented in twelve cases, i.e. 4% of the councils (n=308). Still, we argue that their effects have been deeper.

In Table 8.1 we have summed up the details of the empirical cases in terms of dynamics and outcomes.

Table 8.1 Candidates and outcomes of the first PS closed primaries in local elections, 2013

Council	Dynamics of the closed primaries	Consequences/Outcomes
<i>Alenquer</i> (Lisbon)	Candidates: local office-holder won the competition against the former leader of the local section (<i>concelhia</i>).	Conflicts: the defeated candidate left the party and ran as top-member of the Left Bloc (BE) list.
<i>Alpiarça</i> (Santarém)	Candidate endorsed by the local leader is defeated.	Conflicts: resignation of the local leader who joined an independent list.
<i>Arganil</i> (Coimbra)	One of the candidates was the local party leader, who eventually won.	No internal conflicts.
<i>Alijó</i> (Vila Real)	Candidate member of the local party executive was defeated.	Conflicts: The loser ran under an independent list endorsed by "dissident" socialist members.

¹⁷⁴ PS (2012), "Regulamento Eleitoral Interno", art. 16-17 (2012).

		The PS loses the incumbency. The result is attributed to the primaries. Strong ensuing conflicts.
<i>Caldas da Rainha</i> (Leiria)	Independent candidate had the endorsement of the local party leader and won the contest.	No ensuing conflicts.
<i>Cartaxo</i> (Santarém)	Biggest section of the federation. Candidates: local leader vs member of the council executive. Preexisting conflicts among members of the council's executive and the local party executive. Conflicts regarding the timing of the contest (e.g. fees payment). The PS local leader wins the primaries.	The loser heads an independent list. The PS keeps the incumbency. But the independent list gets the second-best result (division within the socialist electorate).
<i>Guarda</i> (Guarda)	Main candidates were a member of the municipal executive and a member of the party executive. The race is not disputed since the former stepped down claiming procedural unfairness. He heads an independent list. Jurisdictional intervention of the PS against the list.	High division and conflict. The PS loses the Guarda's socialist stronghold in favour of the PSD. Local party executive resigns.
<i>Lagoa</i> (Faro)	One of the candidates was the local party leader, who eventually won.	No internal conflicts.
<i>Matosinhos</i> (Porto)	Pre-existing conflicts between the Matosinhos' mayor and the federation leader for the federation election. No closed primaries in this case. The incumbent mayor defended his re-selection as mayoral candidate without primaries. The party executive chose the local leader as candidate for the party.	The adversary decision of the local executive led the mayor to disaffiliate and to head an independent list, which won the local elections.

<i>Mealhada</i> (Aveiro)	Preexisting conflicts between the federation and the local executive for the federation election. The local leader is not a supporter of the federation leader. Candidates: local leader and his former challenger for the leadership of the local section, endorsed by the federation leader.	The local leader wins the selection
<i>Póvoa de Lanhoso</i> (Braga)	Candidate endorsed by the local leader. The challenger had already challenged the local leader in the internal elections for the local party executive.	Candidate endorsed by the local leader wins the closed primaries.
<i>Santo Tirso</i> (Porto)	Candidate endorsed by the local leader is defeated.	Rejection of the result by the loser (alleged unfair process). Conflicts had to be resolved at the national level.
<i>Vila Nova de Cerveira</i> (Viana de Castelo)	Candidates: local leader and member of the municipal executive.	Rejection of the result by the loser (alleged unfair process), disaffiliation followed by the presentation of an independent list which won the local election. The PS lost the council governed by the party since 1989.

Sources: own elaboration, see Appendix IV.

From the experience of the closed primaries at local level several observations may be drawn. The first observation regards the internal effects: closed primaries seem to have made it easier for pre-existing conflicts to emerge. The alternative list opened a window of opportunity for the opposite ‘factions’ to aggregate consensus and try to challenge those controlling the local structure. Secondly, the public exposure of internal divisions, made easier by the primaries, had negative effects on the party public image and thus on the party’s electoral performance, as can be seen in the third column where the consequences of the competition are reported. Thirdly, non-acceptance of the results of the primaries seems another feature of these elections. In some cases, it resulted in an adverse candidacy under

independent list that fragmented the electoral market and threatened the party performance even in its strongholds.

The empirical cases also suggest the comparative advantage of the candidate who is linked to the local party executive, and more in general, they indicate the tendency, ascribed to the local structures, of regimenting the members. When the local leader is one of the candidates, or the candidate is endorsed by the local structure, the outcome tends to be in his favour. This may be explained due to the fact that the selectorates that have chosen the local leader shortly before, and are then called to select the mayoral candidate, are basically the same.¹⁷⁵ The restricted selectorate seems to make the outcome rather predictable in favour of whoever controls the local party structures. When the candidate is supported by the local structure, but he or she holds less support within the broader electorate, implications on the electoral performance of the party may ensue.

The process was highly criticised internally, including by Seguro's supporters. The member of the secretariat in charge of the organisation, who has been interviewed for this study, acknowledged the malfunctioning of the system in some cases, but considered the experience important from the «perspective of party openness», being the reform «a learning process as well» (M. Laranjeiro, 2014). Other interviewees have highlighted interesting mechanisms behind the process of selection. Accordingly, the closed primaries not only failed to counteract the closeness of the local structures, but also made it easier for public conflicts to occur. As a result, PS electoral defeats ensued.

«The case of Matosinhos is a good example of the fact that the system of *diretas* (closed primaries) is not immune from block voting. Notwithstanding the *diretas*, what occurred was a divorce between the voters and the party, because the party provided a candidate that the voters did not want. With open primaries it would be different». (P. D. Alves, 2015).

Two federation presidents highlighted the problematic aspects of the process as follows:

«In my district I think that I will lose the councils (where closed primaries are held). (The rules) do not envisage the possibility for the federation to decide differently, after the results of the *directas*, only before. And before it hampers the power of the federation president, because if I need their votes to be elected, how can I say that I won't implement the primaries?» [...] «We should ponder the

¹⁷⁵ Interview with MP, PS-Aveiro president, Pedro Nuno Santos.

principle of the *directas* with a safeguard mechanism, thereby the federation could take back the process demonstrating that the candidate that has lost the primaries has better chances of winning the local elections, that the winner has more support within the party, but not within the electorate. The federation should have the power to prove (e.g. via opinion polls) that the outcome is ‘wrong’ and the decision be then ratified by the party executive». (MP and PS-Santarém president, A. Gameiro, 2013).

The other interviewee observed how the closed primaries could act as a sort of springboard for losers and pave the way for them to run at the elections as independents. Accordingly, the fact that, at the local level, non-partisan lists are allowed works as a structure of opportunity for the primaries’ losers. The losers take advantage of having aggregated support during the campaign for the primaries:

«There are candidates that have lost but that did not accept the outcome and thus they disaffiliated from the party and ran as independents against the party [...]. Probably, without the *directas* this problem wouldn’t exist since the process of candidacy would have not even begun. A party member presents the candidacy to the *directas*, starts to talk with the citizens, talks with the militants, organises the internal contest, thereby a dynamic is created, then he loses the internal dispute. Yet, he has a dynamic, a willingness, and a team, and therefore he will disaffiliate himself from the party and run against it» (MP and PS-Aveiro president, P. N. Santos, 2013).

In our view, the experience of the closed primaries, although circumscribed to a few cases, has contributed to uncover the process of erosion of party organisation at local level. In line with scholars’ observation about “false” independent candidacies engendered by party dissents (Jalali, 2014: 248-249), it can be argued that the local primaries have further contributed in bringing internal divisions to the electoral arena. Following Jalali, this suggests two facts which may be ascribed to both the PS and the PSD. Firstly, the parties’ weakness in their role of gatekeepers to local power; secondly, it reflects an ‘unintended consequence’ of party cartelisation. The access to power, rather than sustain the organisation, may trigger internal struggles for power, resulting in internal divisions and the consequent weakening of the party organisation. In other words, the high dependence on the resources

ensued in the access to local power «also fosters greater factionalism in parties that have little else holding their organisations (and members) together» (Jalali, 2014: 249). In this respect the possibility of challenging the local party executive from within by means of primaries has created an opportunity for the emergence of pre-existent conflicts. The combination with the independent candidacies allowed – for the losers of the primaries – has exacerbated the conflicts, showing the fragile loyalties characterising these parties and the organisational erosion of the local party structures.

8.3 The Prime Ministerial primaries (2014)

In this section the unprecedented experience of open primaries for selecting the PS's prime ministerial candidate is analysed. As accounted in Chapter 4, Seguro's internal consolidation as leader was diffculted by the criticism coming from the leftist sector and personalised faction around the Lisbon Mayor, Costa. The conflict between Seguro and Costa, temporarily resolved before the 2013 local elections, re-emerged after the 2014 European elections. This time, the intra-party division was settled through a public dispute, the open primaries called for a selection of the Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2015 elections. So, as a response to the internal challenge the incumbent leader proposed an election, following a primaries format, for choosing the Prime Ministerial candidate and bounded the leadership to the outcome.¹⁷⁶ Open primaries had never been experienced by a Portuguese parliamentary party. The move represented a U-turn in Seguro's position, which appeared difficult to explain. During the 2011 leadership campaign he had been against primaries open to party supporters. Moreover, the widespread perception was that Costa, could be favoured by the open primaries' mechanism, due to his popularity.

On the one hand, Seguro's unexpected initiative postponed the question of the party leadership and reduced the room for maneuver of the adversary. On the other hand, the primaries were presented as an «innovative political solution» that showed party's efforts towards openness, and as a form of counteracting the «dominance of the party apparatus» and, more in general, as part of a wider plan of reform of the political and electoral system.¹⁷⁷ This decision is illustrative of aspects highlighted by scholars with reference to the main Portuguese parties: the room for maneuver of the leader in managing the rules, and the

¹⁷⁶ Seguro, "Proposta de Resolução" voted by the National Political Committee on 5/6/2014, party website.

¹⁷⁷ "Público": «Eleições primárias foram a surpresa na 'batalha de Vimeiro», 1/6/2014, pp. 4-6.

strategic rationales behind the adoption of organisational changes, motivated by external and internal pressures (Lisi, 2010a; 2015a). In this case, internal divisions seemed to have played a chief role. Of course, the internal pressures and ‘factionalism’ against the incumbent leader had its *raison d'être* in the perception that only Costa would have ensured the return of the PS to power.

Regarding the rules governing the process, the selectorate entailed party supporters under the condition of signing a declaration of commitment to the party principles and not being affiliated to other parties.¹⁷⁸ The deadline for the registration was a contentious issue. The different positions of the candidates suggests different mobilisation strategies and, above all, the role of the territorial structures in the mobilisation. By restricting the deadline for registering, Costa’s proposal constrained the mobilisation efforts of the structures.¹⁷⁹ The perception was that on-line registrations depended more on the initiative of the individual supporter and voter, disconnected from the party organisation. Therefore, were perceived as more favourable to Costa for his greater appeal before supporters and voters.¹⁸⁰ Conversely, the on-paper registrations could be considered a proxy for territorial structures’ role in mobilising supporters, beyond the affiliates. Restricting the deadline would have favoured the on-online applications. The final data indicates that the share of paper/online registrations was approximately 70,000 vis-à-vis 76,000.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately, complete data of the online/paper registrations subdivided per district, which could provide some indications of the type of mobilisation by federation, are not available.

The extensive media coverage – with three TV debates between candidates – was accompanied by an intense on-the-ground mobilisation and direct canvassing. The final number of the potential electorate, 250,862, apart from the 93,000 members included more than 150,000 non-affiliates that registered with the purpose of voting. The participation rate was 71%, corresponding to 178,390 voters, showing high citizens’ participation. Costa won with 67.7% of the vote (120,790) while Seguro got 31.6% (56,353).¹⁸² The margin of victory separating the two challengers (36 percentage points) indicates that the competitiveness was moderate and that Costa was by and large the favourite candidate.

¹⁷⁸ “Regulamento eleições primárias” in: “Acção Socialista”, n° 1388, 6-7/2014, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷⁹ Costa: 30 days before the election, Seguro: one week. The deadline was set to 15 days.

¹⁸⁰ Jorge Coelho, coordinator of the electoral committee, in: “Sol”: «Mais de 36,500 pessoas já se inscreveram como simpatizantes do PS” 19/9/2014, p.6 and “22 mil fichas no ultimo dia e porto no topo».

¹⁸¹ “Público”: «António José Seguro: Primárias do PS próximas dos 250,000 potenciais participantes».

¹⁸² “Acção Socialista”, n° 1390, 10/2014, p.5.

Table 8.2 presents data about the process per districts/party federation.

Table 8.2 The open primaries for the PM candidate per party federation, 2014

Federation	Registered voters	Participation	Costa	Seguro	Margin
Algarve	6,702	75%	80.7%	18.6%	62.1
Aveiro	11,190	74.5%	70.6%	28.6%	42
Baixo A.	2,957	81.4%	62.5%	37%	25.5
Braga	22,403	71%	56.2%	42.9%	13.3
Bragança	3,797	73.7%	71.3%	28.2%	43.1
Castelo B	6,000	76.1%	55.5%	43.6%	11.9
Coimbra	15,456	69.1%	65.7%	33.6%	32.1
Évora	2,392	83.4%	76%	23.6%	52,4
Guarda	5,336	77.4%	38%	61.2%	23.2
Leiria	5,647	78.8%	68.6%	30.6%	38
Lisbon – Faul	48,208	76.2%	86.7%	12.7%	74
Lisbon – Oeste (West)	1,875	79.3%	80.5%	18.8%	61.7
Portalegre	3,180	80.9%	79%	20.4%	58.6
Porto	58,817	65.5%	52.6%	46.4%	6.2
Santarém	6,457	77.7%	71.6%	27.5%	44.1
Setúbal	14,357	77%	79.1%	20.4%	58.7
Viana do C.	3,703	81.3%	59.6%	39.6%	20
Vila Real	6,130	69.5%	66.5%	33%	33.5
Viseu	10,694	70.3%	58.9%	40.4%	18.5
Açores	8,270	54.4%	86.5%	12.5%	74
Madeira	6,004	48%	60.2%	38.9%	21.3
Europe	748	44.8%	57%	42%	15

Extra-Europe	539	28.5%	55.1%	43.5%	11.6
Total	250,862	71% (178,390)	67.7% (120,790)	31.6% (56,353)	36

Source: “Acção Socialista”, n° 1390, 10/2014, p.5. Margin of victory: own elaboration.

The strongest concentration of the registered voters occurred in the two largest districts (Porto and Lisbon), followed by Braga, Coimbra, Setúbal and, to a lesser extent, Aveiro and Viseu. Comparing the selectorate of this primary in some federations the number of non-members registered is significantly higher than the number of active members, indicating an exceptional mobilisation of supporters in some areas. The table also shows the participation rates, the outcomes, and the margin of competitiveness.

Two aspects emerge from the data. Firstly, only in one federation, the PS-Guarda, did Seguro defeat Costa. The federation was a Seguro’s stronghold, yet it was comparatively small in terms of potential electors. In the other federations headed by presidents endorsing Seguro, the incumbent leader was defeated. Secondly, the margin of victory in favour of Costa in those federations was considerably lower than the margin registered in the federations led by federation presidents close to Costa, (i.e. 27.8 vis-à-vis 47 points). In the former, it appears that the structures were able to ensure more support, albeit insufficient, to Seguro. The PS-Porto presents the tightest competitiveness: 6.2 points of victory margin. The largest PS federation, led by a president supporter of Seguro, represented 58,000 potential electors. The variation in the competitiveness across the structures indicates that the structures’ work behind rival candidacies may still be an important resource even when the contests are open to non-members, but it is clearly not sufficient. This is even more apparent when one of the candidates benefits from a comparatively higher popularity in the wider electorate, and, thus, appears to have the best chances to bring the party back in power.

However, more information at level of party federation would be needed. In this specific contest, it emerges that some territorial structures were more efficient in mobilising the non-affiliates and increase the number of electors. Moreover, it must also be taken into consideration the role of local leaders and public office-holders, not just the federation leaders and their endorsement in favour of one or the other candidate. For instance, Costa was publicly supported by a large sector of PS mayors, who may have contributed to

aggregate within their local communities the consensus in favour of this candidate. Finally, the experience of prime ministerial primaries highlighted the power of the media coverage and national tv in making or breaking candidates, vis-à-vis party organisational resources. The success in mediatic terms may push the parties in using instrumentally these initiatives.

The results paved the way for leadership change, sanctioned with the election of Costa as Secretary-General in December 2014. The great participation and citizens' involvement around the first primaries influenced the statutory revision carried out by the new leader and the absence of internal resistances to the measure. As observed by one of our interviewees when the process of reform was still ongoing:

«the success of the primaries has shown the electoral advantages, as well as in terms of increased legitimacy, that the party achieves in allowing the sympathisers to participate» (P. D. Alves, 2015).

The new statutes (2015) have included the primaries as one of the methods for selecting external offices, namely parliamentary and mayoral candidates, as well as the party leader (see section I of this chapter). Nevertheless, the implementation is highly conditioned. In fact, the rules delegate to the national committee the adoption of primaries and their *ad hoc* regulation, that is whether these are closed or open. The territorial structures should also require the permission to set primaries for MP candidates to the party at the national level.¹⁸³ Compared to the system introduced by Seguro, the new rules are formally more inclusive, since the non-members are now included. Yet, the system seems less immediate and more centralised than the former, given that it depends on the previous authorisation of the national bodies and the initiative of the territorial structures in that sense. From this perspective, the reform increases the power of the local and federation executives in controlling the process in their area. Their effective implementation may thus be highly dependent on strategic considerations, contextual opportunities and leader's agency. To date the open/closed primaries for CS exist only on paper and have not been applied in legislative and local elections, held in 2015 and 2017.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ "Party Statutes" (2015, art. 59.6 and 79.8); "Regulamento eleitoral interno e de designação de candidatos a cargos de representação política" (2015, art.14.8).

¹⁸⁴ At the time of writing this study the position of the party directorate seems that of maintaining the primaries open to sympathisers as a non-mandatory possibility regulated by the national level for the selection of the party leader excluding the selection of candidates for public offices.

8.4 Securing the organisational boundaries. The IPD reforms in the PSD

Unlike the PS, the PSD only allows to dues-paying members to join the organisation. Apparently, the party differs from the PS, where the distinction between ordinary members and supporters is increasingly blurred. In the PSD, the attempts to introduce forms of affiliation with reduced obligations have been blocked by the internal vetoes. During the 2010 leadership campaign, the ‘sympathiser’ as a formal status of membership, without obligations and voting benefits, had been proposed by one of the candidates, Pedro Passos Coelho, as a way to approximate the citizens to the party.¹⁸⁵ During Passos Coelho’s first mandate (2010-2012), the proposal became part of the statutory revision drawn up by the new leadership. Reaffirming the intention to create the sympathiser status, it left to the national council the decision whether this new affiliate could hold voting rights for selecting candidates. However, the congress vetoed the measure and rejected the expansion of party organisational boundaries beyond the card-carrying member.¹⁸⁶

When the territorial elites have been asked about the introduction of the sympathiser the evaluation has been generally negative. The sympathiser is perceived as a «comfort position that will completely distort the philosophy of the party» (...) and it would be better to «make the militancy easier, for instance by reducing the costs, rather than create a new category» (P. Cunha, PSD-Braga president, 2014). Therefore, «whoever wants to vote must join as militant, be involved with the party, being available every day» (N. Serra, MP, PSD-Santarém president, 2014). Furthermore, it has been stressed that the sympathiser is incongruent with the PSD as a «party of militants» (Duarte Pacheco, MP, PSD-Lisboa Oeste president, 2014), and «a party created when it was difficult to be a member of the PSD» (N. Serra). Interestingly, the party officials also underline the instrumental use that could be done of the sympathisers to the detriment of the structures: «There may be a candidate who uses the sympathisers, who may say: ‘I worked with you, not with the structures.’ In that case, the structures would make no more sense and have no weight» (N. Serra).

More in general, the introduction of IPD reforms within the PSD has been less consensual. As we have shown in the previous chapters, the inclusion of members emerged in the party debate in the mid-1990s, following the shift of the party to the opposition. In

¹⁸⁵ Passos Coelho’s Motion (2010): “Portugal Primeiro” (Portugal First), in “Povo Livre”, n°1638, 9/4/2010, p. 2. “Público” online: «PSD vai criar figura do simpatizante e dia de abertura à sociedade», 6/5/2010.

¹⁸⁶ “Povo Livre”, n°1730, 28/3/2012, p.13

that phase, the reform was applied only to the district bodies (see chapter 7), which started to be elected by the ordinary members. The direct election of the leader remained a contentious and politically sensitive issue, being for the first time put to a vote at the 2000 National Congress and rejected. During the 2005 leadership campaign, the reform was supported by the two candidates, Mendes and Menezes, as a way to increase the IPD and to open the party to the rank-and-file.¹⁸⁷ Still, Mendes, who eventually won the competition, had been formerly one of the main critics of the direct election. The radical change of position suggested strategic considerations on the part of this candidate, fostered by pressures towards party's organisational renovation after the electoral debacle (Lisi, 2015a). The public position of the then territorial elites confirmed the internal divisions on the issue, indicating the perception of losing influence due to the reform.¹⁸⁸ The direct election was finally approved by the Congress, however, while the delegates voted in favour of transferring the selection of the leader to the individual members, they secured the power of electing the other national bodies, including the national political committee, against the party directorate's original proposal. As such, the congress is the elective body of the national political committee on proposal of the leader. Since alternative lists cannot be presented, formally this solution guarantees the leader a cohesive executive body. However, the share of votes of the congressional delegates on the national political committee are an important indicator of the extent of support the leader could count on within the congress, i.e. within the local cadres and activists.

When the election is competitive, the rules governing the direct election are a major source of conflict.¹⁸⁹ While selectorate and candidacy requirements have remained rather stable, the modalities and deadline of the dues' payment for the members having the right to vote are highly discussed. These conflicts, characterising also the PS, indicate the influence that the local structures still have on membership in occasion of intra-party disputes, and may regard the aforementioned *caciquismo*'s practices and control of pocket of votes by local leaders (Pereira, 2007: 160-161). On the one hand, the existence of these conflicts

¹⁸⁷ "Público" online: «PSD à beira de concretizar sonho das directas de Pedro Santana Lopes», 17/3/2006.

¹⁸⁸ "RTP" online: «Directas dividem distritais e estruturas do PSD», 21/2/2006. The PS-Porto and the PSD-Lisboa presidents endorsed the reform while the other territorial leaders were more cautious, leaving the decision to the delegates or declaring their opposition, albeit as a personal position. Disagreement also seemed to be rather diffuse among the mayors, reunited in the party's local office-holders association (the ASD). The youth organisation (JSD) voted in bloc against the reform.

¹⁸⁹ See for instance the more recent leadership campaign between Rui Rio and Santana Lopes, January 2018.

suggests that the direct election has not completely neutralised the influence of these middle-level actors and strata— and thus the relevance for the leader to have the party controlled or a solid power base within it, especially when he or she needs to consolidate internal power or in difficult times (long-term opposition).

The persistency of internal dissatisfaction seems to hamper within the PSD the institutionalisation of the leader's direct election. The return to the *ex-ante* situation has been repeatedly proposed during the meetings of the national bodies. A proposal aimed at reintroducing the former system was rejected at the 2010 congress only by a few votes (241 in favour, 244 contrary, 92 abstained). Likewise, at the 2012 congress a motion proposing the abolishment of the direct election was endorsed by the PSD-Lisbon structure.¹⁹⁰ According to a recent survey, there is still a 30% percent of party delegates that would prefer the election of the party leader by congress, vis-à-vis 53% in favour of the direct election (Sanches and Razzuoli, 2017).

As chapter 3 has shown, the PSD is among the few centre-right parties to have adopted this method. The contagion effect is a key explication behind the adoption of this reform in the case of this party. The organisational reform has been triggered by the national context (the PS successful experience), the electoral defeat and opposition status, and the consequent campaign for the leadership. Still, factors such as ideology and party culture appear to make it considerably harder for this reform to be consolidated.

One of the problems triggered by the direct election in the PSD has been highlighted by the former party leader, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, as follows:

«[before] the Party organised congresses, everyone defended his/her ideas, then we voted, and there was a winner and there were losers, who withdrew the candidacy. The problem of the Party in the last years is that, since the candidacies are kept until the end, that strain persists, and the division remains. This then perpetuates itself until the next term» (de Sousa, 2010: 6)¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ “Público”: «PSD-Lisboa propõe fim das directas para a eleição do líder», 19/3/2012, p. 10. The proposal was withdrawn since it conflicted with the statutory revision proposed by the leadership.

¹⁹¹ “Povo Livre”, n° 1635, 17/3/2010.

Accordingly, the Congress was a forum where internal divisions, emerging when more than one candidate ran for the leadership, were fixed. The former system inhibited the rise of more candidacies in favour of a unitary candidacy. The direct election would have made this process more difficult, with the result of exacerbating party instability and fostering internal strains, which highly characterise the PSD when in opposition.

When asked about the effects of the direct election on internal power and party structures' role, the district presidents interviewed for this study agreed on the fact that the reform has affected their influence.

«The structures have lost influence indeed. They ceased to be centers where opinions were aggregated. With the direct election every militant expresses his or her opinion directly, it ceased to be necessary to have a local structure, a centre for aggregating opinions, to be heard, to be debated, and to define a common position of that group of people to be presented to the national party. It was an innovation that turned out to be highly negative. It created a barrier to the anonymous member to be candidate to the national political committee. Nowadays, to run as candidate it is expensive, the campaign is very mediatic and it requires financial and logistic means to reach 140,000 members. In the former system the candidate needed only to focus the resources on those 1,000 delegates. Paradoxically, the direct election made the system less democratic» (P. Pinto Luz, PSD-Lisboa, 2013).

At the same time, like what has emerged from the interviews to the PS officials, the territorial structures are still able to exercise influence due to their proximity to the militants.

«I think that with direct election the power is more open to the militants globally considered, thus the intermediate structures have their power reduced compared to the past. Before, we gave the delegates the power of electing the party leader, and the delegates were mostly those which emanated from the intermediate structures, i.e. the intermediate structures held the elections for their delegates, but we already knew that they (the delegates) were very conditioned by this. This is no longer the case, the role is now extended to all the militants. Even though today, and in the future, the intermediate structures are very close to the militants: a *concelhia* is very close to the members of the *concelhia*, and a district

structure is very close to the militants of several *concelhias* – i.e. in theory the power is diluted among all the members, but in practice the intermediate structures continue to have this power» (N. Serra, MP, PSD-Santarém president, 2014).

With the direct election, the congresses have lost relevance and dynamics. The populist character of the direct election combined to candidates with populist attitudes is perceived as potentially dangerous.

«I preferred the former system. the PSD held congresses which were a permanent emotion. We went there without knowing who would get the leadership. The indirect election is not less democratic [than the direct election]. It could happen that the delegates were elected thinking of one candidate and then it changed. They had the mandate but, since the vote was secret, they would end up defending another candidate, thanks to the congress dynamic, and then they vote for the other candidate. With the *directas*, the congress is more proclamatory of the leader, the congress lost interest and dynamic and the *directas* opened a door that I would say... ‘populism’ is easier». [...] «The direct elections withdrew the power from the apparatus, unquestionably. Nevertheless, afterwards, the apparatus is essential for a good performance of (leader) term. The apparatus keeps the party alive, meets with the people, keeps open the sections, manages the local office-holders...» (Duarte Pacheco, MP, PSD-Oeste Lisboa president, 2014).

On the other hand, the leader of the PSD-Braga underlines a different perspective:

«With direct elections, the local sections (*concelhias*) get more relevance, because now we have the task of convincing the militants to elect the leader, without compromise (with the delegate)» [...] «before it was a ‘blank check’ we gave to the delegates, the candidates to the leadership could emerge during the congress, the present system is largely more democratic». «The structures could have lost influence, but it was a bad influence» (P. Cunha, PSD-Braga president, 2014)

However, as observed by a member of the national executive, notwithstanding the enduring controversies within the party, the return to the system based on the congress seems unfeasible given that it would imply the withdrawal of rights, which would negatively affect the image of the party within the broader electorate.¹⁹²

In conclusion, to date, the IPD reforms adopted by the PSD have remained limited to the selection of personnel for party offices. The inclusion of members in candidate selection had been endorsed by Passos Coelho, together with the introduction of the 'sympathiser', in the project of statutory revision drawn up during his first mandate. Accordingly, the adoption of closed or open primaries in the candidate selection would have been decided by the national council. Yet, the congress vetoed the proposal (together with the sympathiser statute). In the subsequent years under Passos Coelho's terms, which coincided with party's governmental incumbency, the issue did not re-emerge on the party agenda.

Conclusion

Focusing on the most recent years, this chapter has shown the trajectories undertaken by the two parties concerning the inclusion of ordinary members in decision-making processes, placing the emphasis on the territorial structures' roles and perspectives. In both parties, the democratisation has mainly regarded the selection of party personnel, namely the party leader and, as shown in chapters 6 and 7, the territorial leaders. The emphasis on inclusion has been presented as a way to revitalise the rank-and-file and approximate the party to society. Still, the party leader's (and territorial leaders) direct selection has contributed to enhance the leader's position within the party and foster the leadership personalisation. The analysis of the more recent reforms confirms previous observations regarding organisational change, and the lack of thereof, in both parties, showing the instrumental reasons behind the reforms and attempt of reform, being mainly pushed by external and internal pressures and their interplay (Lisi, 2015a).

Firstly, the chapter has shown the tendency of the PS for making its organisational boundaries from members and non-members less distinct. The experience of Prime Ministerial primaries in 2014 has paved the way for changing the formal rules and opening

¹⁹² Interview with MP and PSD vice-president, Nilza de Sena (2014).

decisional processes beyond the boundaries of the traditional membership. In this respect, the PSD has secured its organisational boundaries. More in general, in this party it seems more difficult to aggregate consensus towards such reforms. Proposals to innovate, advanced in a phase of leadership change and opposition status, have been blocked by the congress.

Secondly, the chapter has investigated the (failed) reforms carried out by the party at the opposition, under Seguro's leadership (2011-2014), with the analysis of the closed primaries in 2013 local elections, and the consequences in party unity and electoral performance. This experience suggests that the party will be very cautious in opening the process in the more contentious arena of candidate selection.

Notwithstanding the recent innovation introduced by Costa, the candidate selection seems to remain an affair managed by the party elites at the national and territorial levels, with the power of the latter preserved. More in general, it has shown that opening the selection for public-offices candidates may create severe problems to party cohesion and relation with the territorial structures, with negative effects for party image. Differently from the direct selection of the party leader (and territorial leaders), it appears more difficult to have the candidate selection process controlled, especially in a context of fragile internal loyalties and weak organisational strength.

As for the territorial structures, their relevance has been effectively reduced by measures such as the direct election of the leader, notably in a context of campaigns' mediatisation and personalisation. However, the territorial structures still seem to matter in terms of the mobilisation of active members and organisation of the consensus on the ground, especially if they manage to control a key organisational resource for intra-party disputed, such as the members. This may indicate that the party leader, or a candidate to leadership, still needs to enjoy support (or build support) within the territorial apparatus, especially when in vulnerable position. In this regard, the inclusion of non-members or supporters in internal processes may threaten this enduring relevance of the structures. Scarce resources and weak organisation reduce their influence capacity beyond the boundaries of active members, compared to other channels (e.g. mass media), notably when the elections are contested, and the candidates are competitive. However, while the selection of the leader seems to go in that direction in the case of the PS, this does not seem the case for the selection of candidates to public office in both parties.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined party organisation and internal power distribution in Portuguese parties, focusing on the territorial structures and their relations with the party at the national level. As claimed at the beginning of this study, notwithstanding the direct effects of party transformation on the territorial structures, this dimension has remained under-researched. Therefore, the primary goal of this thesis was to cover this gap and to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Portuguese parties' functioning, in the context of the current trends of party transformation. With this in mind, the research has explored the case of the two main governing parties, the PS and the PSD.

The analysis has first explored the type of relations established between the party at the national level and the territorial structures, investigating the hypothesis of increasing reciprocal autonomy between levels. This hypothesis stems from party literature, which posits the replacement of hierarchical patterns and the emergence of stratarchical relations between levels. This argument has been explored through a dynamic perspective which has allowed us to consider the two parties under different phases, institutional status and leadership. As for the PS, the party started from a very hierarchical configuration, set during the formative years under Soares' personalised leadership, and based on the leader's unilateral control over the territorial organisation. With the leadership change in the second half of the 1980s (Constâncio) and party's electoral erosion, hierarchy proved to be less functional and was loosened. The new leadership started to entrust competences to the peripheral structures (federations and local sections), ensuring some degree of autonomy in the management of local electoral processes. Concomitantly, the party set the basis for the empowerment of federation presidents within the territorial structures, which proved to be functional to the centre-periphery relations when the party is in government, enabling the national leadership to have a cohesive territorial organisation, mobilised *ad hoc* in support of the government by means of loyal agents. In opposition, under Ferro Rodrigues and Seguro, we detected attempts to strengthen the hierarchical control. Still, the opposition status was too short to show to what extent the configuration of the relations between levels radically changes in opposition. As for the PSD, stratarchical features are present since the outset, confirming previous studies (Jalali, 2006; Jalali and Lisi, 2009). This initial feature

has been incorporated in the party functioning and has contributed to shape the subsequent developments. During the long phase at the opposition and under high leadership instability, it has been difficult for the leadership to try to impose hierarchic measures. The local level has been able to keep its degree of autonomy by means of internal struggles which have taken place due to local elites' penetration in the national bodies. At the same time, it is worth noting that the 'periphery' has not taken advantage of this higher autonomy, and influence capacity, to improve its formal power in terms of allocation of resources and competences over time.

In conclusion, hierarchy – understood as unilateral control from above – is not representative of centre-periphery relations in the two parties. At the same time, stratarchy – conceived as mutual separation – does not hold true. The dynamic perspective shows that there are attempts to strengthen hierarchic control from the centre in both parties, in opposition and after a leadership change. This proves that the party organisation is an important source to be controlled, and that leaders (and new leaders) of electoralist parties could not easily neglect the organisation, especially in opposition and during difficult contexts. The nature of the party origin seems to contribute to explain the different paths followed by the two parties, and therefore the role of path dependency, in line with previous studies on organisational changes (e.g. Lisi, 2015a).

Moreover, the analysis suggests that the autonomisation, entailed in the stratarchical solution, seems to regard power relations among party elites at various levels, i.e. the party leader and the territorial leaders who control the organisation on-the-ground (Bardi, Bartolini, and Trechsel, 2014: 8). As such it indicates the increasing relevance of individual linkages to the detriment of collective bodies. Territorial collective bodies level are mainly mobilised in support of the party in government, and as aggregators of the consensus on-the-ground.

The analysis carried out in chapter 6 and 7 seems to confirm this observation. In the two chapters the thesis has sought to respond to the research question regarding the emergence of processes of personalisation and democratisation at the territorial level. It has focused on the selection of the intermediate leadership, resorting to an original database of intra-party elections. The process has been democratised in the second half of the 1990s, and the right to select the federation (PS) and district (PSD) presidents was attached to members.

This thesis contends that the shift from the assembly-based selection method to the direct selection has fostered the emergence of a model of leader-centric guidance and personalisation of the territorial organisation. It has enhanced the role of the intermediate leaders vis-à-vis the local assemblies, the autonomy in the formation of the executive bodies, and the legitimacy in leading the territorial structures. Furthermore, this model is functional to the intra-party relations for different reasons. Firstly, because it fosters the establishment of personalistic linkages for the control and *ad hoc* mobilisation of the territorial structures. As literature suggests, personalistic linkages tend to shore up the weakness of party organisation in new democracies. Secondly, the enhanced position of the territorial leaders within the structures serves to foster party cohesion and reduce the potential for internal conflicts within the organisation.

The empirical analysis of the internal disputes has shown important findings. Firstly, a general pattern of low competitiveness (i.e. more than one candidate running) is found, i.e. single-candidates races tend to characterise these contests. This pattern is slightly more pronounced in the PSD. Secondly, continuity rather than elites' renewal is also apparent. The main features of these elections suggest a tendency towards elite-controlled processes and indicate the high degree of autonomy held by these elites in managing the territorial organisation. Therefore, they tend to confirm the expectation of personalisation processes at the territorial level. In comparison, formal rules assign to the PS federation presidents a stronger position. Moreover, the fact that in the PS the intra-party elections are held synchronically fosters the linkage with the developments at the national level. This feature should make it easier for the national leadership to rely on a cohesive and 'uniform' territorial organisation. At the same time, it indicates and confirms the higher centralisation of the PS. By contrast, in the PSD, the non-synchronicity of the intra-party elections indicates the higher degree of autonomy of the periphery, as well as district leaders' room for maneuver regarding the management (and control) of the territorial structures. On the other hand, the non-synchronicity may contribute to make it difficult for a new leader to try to control or to encourage a reconfiguration of power at the territorial level. The features and dynamics of the internal elections within the PSD may contribute to explain the higher difficulty of the leader in controlling the organisation when the party is in opposition. Likewise, are consistent with the stratachic features embedded in the party origin.

Within the general pattern of these elections, an interesting feature emerges. Low competitiveness is more apparent when the party is in government. The same is also true when legislative or local elections are upcoming, and the projection of unitary image is crucial. Hence, the institutional (incumbency) and electoral competition seem to be important factors discouraging the emergence of challenges within the territorial organisation and fostering the cohesiveness of the apparatus. The relevance of incumbency in reducing competitiveness is confirmed by studies on party leadership selection (e.g. Cross and Pilet, 2014). In this study we have confirmed that this factor matters also at lower level. The effect of incumbency on leader stability and capacity to consolidate his or her internal power is a factor that in turn contributes to reducing internal strains. By contrast, competitiveness tends to increase under leadership's instability - which tends to coincide with the opposition status that in these parties represents a chief factor of vulnerability for the leader. Although the case of the PSD is rather difficult to assess due to the non-synchronicity of the elections, we have found that on average competitiveness has been more pronounced during the long period in opposition, characterised by several leadership changes especially between 2004 and 2010. In the case of the PS, the change in the dominant coalition following Sócrates' era, and above all, the national challenge between Seguro and Costa, caused the disruption of the low competitiveness' and low renewal' patterns. Still, more competitiveness does not go hand in hand with more renewal. It is worth emphasising that in both parties both competitiveness and renewal are rather low.

As emerged from the review of the longitudinal relations, and from the dynamics of the internal elections, the institutional status is an important factor for explaining power distribution within these parties, confirming previous studies on electoralist parties. Incumbency tends to foster the autonomisation of the national leadership on the one hand, and the cohesiveness of the territorial organisation on the other. By contrast, it is more difficult for a leader in opposition or a new leadership (the two generally coincide) to be autonomous from the party apparatus in difficult times.

The two parties share features that affect in a similar way the internal power distribution, reducing the power of the periphery towards the centre. Firstly, an important element concerns the resource structure, namely party financing. Both the PS and the PSD are highly dependent on public funding and, more importantly, this resource is controlled by the national level. Of course this contributes to the importance of the incumbency for these

parties, being the public funding linked to the electoral results (beyond other resources as political patronage). By contrast, the resources of the territorial structures derive from active members' fees, which are an irrelevant share of the party income. As such, this fosters the predominance of the party at the national level and highly conditions the autonomy of the periphery. Nevertheless, members' fees is related with the control of membership affiliation and mobilisation of active members, which are of crucial interest for getting party posts and influencing local processes.

The second feature shared by the two parties, influencing the power distribution in a similar way, is the direct election of the leader by members. As mentioned, this measure has fostered the national leadership' autonomisation from the territorial structures' influence. Furthermore, as shown in chapter 3, in these two parties the leaders are comparatively stronger. As such, the internal system of accountability based on the collective bodies (e.g. the congress) has been weakened, although in the case of the PSD, the direct election appears to be less consolidated.

In this regard, the reforms of the democratisation experienced by the two parties have contributed to reinforce the position of individual actors, and thus the personalisation at both national and local level, to the detriment of collective actors. This appears to be the main effect of individual members' inclusion in personnel selection. In this thesis we have mainly focused on the lower-level elections and, although it has not been possible to analyse participation rates, the main features of these competitions seem to indicate that, on average, members are called to rubber-stump elite-controlled decisions.

There are different implications in the findings of this study. First, the thesis suggests that there is a need for a refinement of the idea of stratarchy as mutual separation, and as a static model separated from the changing context and internal actors' pressures. As Cross claims (2016: 4) the stratarchical argument should be refined in the sense of 'check and balances' rather than mutual separation. Moreover, the Portuguese case suggests that local autonomy is a characteristic of the territorial elites rather than the local structures as collective entities made up of participative members. As such, Katz and Mair's (1995, 2009) original argument of stratarchy as a solution for keeping active the party, since an autonomous local party attracts participation and enhances party legitimacy, seems not to hold true. Indeed, the main features of the territorial organisation in both parties seem to hamper members' effective participation. Members' mobilisation seems more instrumental

to the internal disputes or to the ritual and intermittent support for the party when in government.

The low elites' circulation may be gauged in the difficulty to put forward innovative policy proposals as well as in the quality of political representation. In some structures, the absence of competitiveness and 'true' renewal is a longstanding pattern that suggests the presence of oligarchies at the territorial level which manage the structures autonomously. The role of personalistic linkages may further weaken party organisations. These dynamics may have important implications for the functioning of local power that deserve to be explored by future studies. More in general, they may have external implications in terms of parties' public image, fostering the diffuse perception of Portuguese parties as closed structures. The reduction of the power of local assemblies and the personalisation at the local level is a double-edge sword. While it makes parties at the local level both more predictable in terms of supporting the national leadership when necessary, makes them much less able to perform the fundamental linkage role with civil society at the local level. Future researches may adopt more sophisticated methods to explore in depth the relations between the national leadership and the dynamics of the territorial apparatus. Likewise, network analyses may be helpful for exploring the degree of elites' circulation or 'factional' entrenchment within the two parties and its consequences.

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Annex I

List of interviews

- António Gameiro: President of the PS-Santarém and Member of Parliament. Lisbon, July 2013. Duration: 35 minutes.
- Cristóvão Crespo: President of the PSD local section of Portalegre and Member of Parliament. Former President of the PSD-Portalegre between 2008 and 2014. Lisbon, 20 September 2016. Duration: 34 minutes.
- Duarte Pacheco: President of the PSD-Área Oeste and Member of Parliament. Lisbon, 19 June 2014. Duration: 43 minutes.
- Marcos Perestrello: President of the PS-Lisbon and Member of Parliament. Member of the PS National Secretariat of the PS (Organisation). Lisbon, 21 January 2014. Duration: 31 minutes.
- Miguel Coelho: Member of Parliament, Lisbon municipal councillor, former president of PS-Lisbon council-structure. Lisbon, 8 November 2016. Duration: 35 minutes.
- Miguel Freitas: President of the PS-Algarve and Member of Parliament. Lisbon, 4 September 2014. Duration:
- Miguel Laranjeiro: Member of the PS National Secretariat (Organisation). Lisbon, 5 November 2014. Duration: 56 minutes.
- Miguel Pinto Luz: PSD. President of the PSD-Lisbon; vice-mayor of Cascais (Lisbon). Cascais, 18 December 2013. Duration: 25 minutes.
- Nilza de Sena: PSD, Member of the National Council; MP; and vice-president of the National Political Committee (2010-2012). Lisbon, 19 June 2014. Duration: 42 minutes.
- Pedro Delgado Alves: Member of Parliament, Member of the National Committee of the PS. Member of the Secretariat of the Lisbon council-level structure. Former Secretary-General of the PS Youth Organization, *Juventude Socialista* (JS) between 2010 and 2012. Lisbon, 10 March 2015. Duration: 54 minutes.
- Nuno Serra: President of the PSD-Santarém and Member of Parliament. Lisbon, 25 June 2014. Duration: 43 minutes.

- Paulo Cunha: PSD, President of the PSD-Braga and Mayor of Vila Nova de Famalicão (Braga). Vila Nova de Famalicão. 24 June 2014. Duration: 40 minutes.
- Pedro Nuno Santos: President of the PS-Aveiro and Member of Parliament. Lisbon, 4 July 2013. Duration: 1 hour and 30 minutes.

Annex II

Interview script - topics

The semi-structured interviews to party elites cover the following topics:

- Evolution of party organisational goals over time
- Relevance and role of party members for the territorial structures
- Influence capacity of the different federations/district structures
- Relation with the leadership in opposition vs governmental status
- Territorial structures' financial resources
- Communication between levels
- Democratisation of party leadership selection and effects on territorial structures' powers
- Openness of organisational boundaries
- MPs candidate selection process, functioning and relation with the national leadership
- Local candidate selection, functioning and local autonomy
- Statutory revision and 2013 closed primaries for mayoral candidates (PS)

ANNEX III

List of PPDB countries

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

ANNEX IV

Dataset of intra-party elections

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